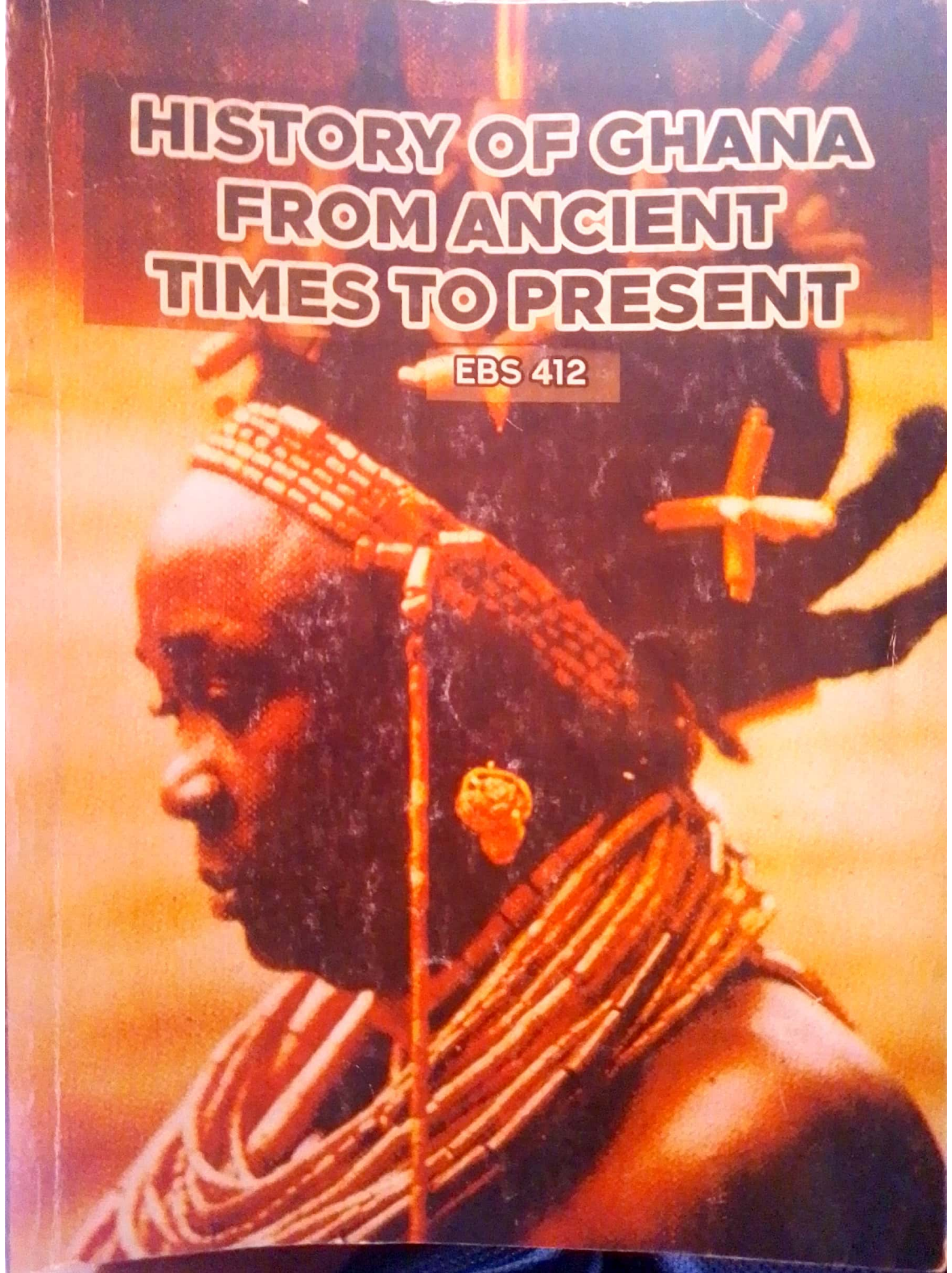
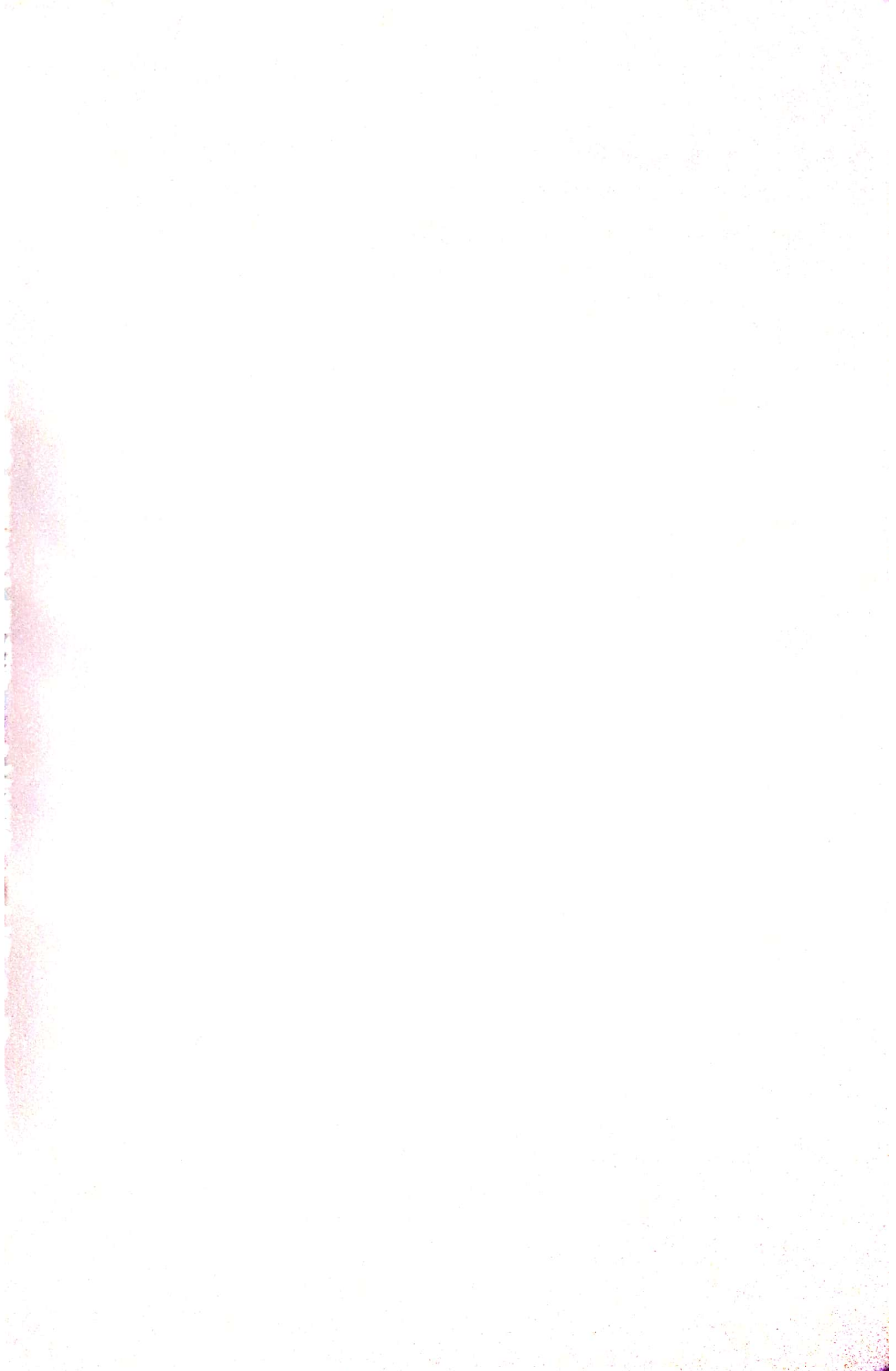


HISTORY OF GHANA FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO PRESENT

EBS 412





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UNIT ONE

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE AND GHANA'S POSITION IN 1957

GOVERNOR FREDERICK GORDON GUGGISBERG'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF GHANA

Gordon Guggisberg was born in Preston, Ontario, Canada. At the age of nine his widowed mother remarried and his stepfather, English Admiral Ramsey Dennis moved the family to Great Britain. Guggisberg was subsequently educated in Britain and served in the colonial administration, rising from the rank of Second Lieutenant of the Royal Engineers to that of Brigadier General. While having served in Singapore, Nigeria and Guiana, his greatest achievements of historic importance and international relevance were in the 14 years he worked in the Gold Coast (Ghana), including first as a Surveyor (1902 — 1908) and then as Governor (1919 — 1927).

The Korle Bu Teaching Hospital is one of several monuments in Ghana representing the outstanding contributions of Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg (1869 — 1930).

Returning to Ghana as Governor 11 years later, Guggisberg focused upon building an infrastructure that would promote growth of the economy and give Ghana a competitive advantage in the world market especially in the area of the cocoa trade. He consequently invested resources in the building of a seaport, in the construction of extensive networks of roads and railways, in the strengthening of education, in improving the health of the people and in the advancement of the African people, through a 10—year development plan. In 1925, he was privileged to welcome, also for the first time to the Gold Coast, an heir to the throne of Great Britain, the Prince of Wales, sharing his vision for this colony.

Governor Gordon Guggisberg is described as the most outstanding Governor Ghana ever had in the days of British colonialism.

This Governor made profound contributions to the development of Ghana and these can be examined as follows:

1. **Deep – water harbor:** This was the first notable achievement of Guggisberg as a governor of Ghana. At the time of his administration, the existing plan was to improve the Sekondi Harbor for export and import purposes. But, this governor thought it wise to build entirely a new harbor at Takoradi. The construction of this harbor started in 1921 and was opened in April, 1928.
2. **Completion of the Eastern Railways:** At the time Guggisberg arrived at the political scene, the Eastern Railway line had reached Akyem Tafo. But he extended it to Kumasi its present terminus. The construction of this railway line helped to boost the production and exportation of cocoa in Ghana.
3. **The Central Railways:** Governor Gordon Guggisberg also built the central railway line from Huni Valley to Kade. This railway line helped in the exploitation and export of minerals like diamonds. The central railway system also aided the production and exportation of cocoa.
4. **Measures against derailment:** Guggisberg's contribution towards the railway sector extended to measures to reduce derailment in Ghana. In his days, the existing railway lines were re – roused along safer routes. Also, many lines were straightened and strengthened to cut down incidence of derailment and make the railway system attractive to the people.
5. **Increase in railway miles:** Another important aspect of the developmental programs of Guggisberg was the measure that led to an increase in the railway mileages in Ghana. In his days, many efforts were dispensed and which saw railway mileage increase from 269 to 375 miles. He drew up plans to extend the railway system from Kumasi to the Northern half of the country, but shelved everything due to shortage of funds.
6. **Road construction:** The administration of Guggisberg brought about a considerable expansion of the road network in Ghana. He constructed a lot of roads in the country particularly in the Northern part. A total of 3338 miles of new roads was constructed and these made many places accessible.

7. **Coal – tarring:** It was Governor Guggisberg who introduced coal tarring of roads in Ghana, a method which improved the road surface considerably. The coal tarring system made travelling by road very convenient in the country. Besides road accidents reduced greatly to the relief of travelers. About 260 miles of roads were coal – tarred in the days of Guggisberg.
8. **Increasing car usage:** Guggisberg brought considerable relief to the country's road transport network in his days. Among other things it was period that witnessed the increasing use of cars and Lorries, particularly the Ford T variety. Goods and passengers were conveyed through this new car type.
9. **Postal services and telegraphs:** Governor Guggisberg improved the telecommunication system in Ghana in his days. He introduced postal services and telegraphs to make communication better in many parts of the country. People could relay messages to their relations and business partners in a more convenient manner as a result of the improvement in the telecommunication services in the country.
10. **The 1925 constitution:** The 1925 Guggisberg constitution replaced the 1916 Clifford constitution. The ARPS and NCBWA criticized the 1916 constitution on the grounds that no member of the legislative council was elected. The features of the constitution includes The Legislative Council, The Elective Principle, Provincial Council of Chiefs and The Executive Council.

Sir Alan Cuthbert Burns (1887-1980) was the son of James Burns, Treasurer of St Christopher-Nevis and himself served in the Leeward Islands Colonial Civil Service from 1905-12 and in the Nigeria Civil Service 1912-24; from 1924-29 he was Colonial Secretary of the Bahamas and administered the Government on several occasions. He returned to Nigeria as Deputy Chief Secretary to Government from 1929-34 and was Governor of British Honduras from 1934-40; after a period as Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies he served as

Governor of the Gold Coast from 1941-47. From 1947-56 he was Permanent U.K. Representative on the Trustee Council of the United Nations

Sir Alan Burns Constitution of 1946 provided new legislative council that was made of the Governor as the President, 6 government officials, 6 nominated members and 18 elected members.

Legislative elections were held in the Gold Coast in June 1946. Constitutional amendments on 29 March 1946 enabled the colony to be the first in Africa to have a majority of black members in its legislature; of the Legislative Council's 32 members, 21 were black, including all 18 elected members.

The executive council was not responsible to the legislative council. They were only in an advisory capacity and the governor did not have to take notice. It was the first major step towards recognition of a role for Gold Coasters (Ghanaians) in their own governance.

Achievements of Sir Alan Burns in the Gold Coast.

- (i) 10-year Development Plan – He drew a ten-year development plan for the Gold Coast
- (ii) Income Tax – He introduced the payment of income tax to generate revenue for the development of the country.
- (iii) Education – He established many schools and colleges including the Prempeh College at Kumasi
- (iv) Railway Lines – He constructed the railway lines from Awaso to Dunkwa for the transportation of bauxite for export through the Takoradi port.
- (v) 1946 Constitution – He led the preparation and introduction of the 1946 constitution of the Gold Coast, which allowed the inclusion of more Africans in the Legislative and Executive Councils

Provisions of the Constitution

There were 30 members in the legislative council excluding the governor, 6 official members, and 24 unofficial members.

The executive council was composed of 11 members, 8 official members/whites 3 unofficial members/Africans.

Features

1. The most radical change was in the increase in the unofficial membership of the legislative council, as opposed to the official minority (24 against 6).
2. The introduction of Africans mainly educated elite and some chiefs in the executive council was significant as Africans were to participate in policy formulation in the governing process of the Gold Coast.
3. The constitution united both Ashanti and Northern Territories with the Gold Coast Colony in terms of constitutional and political activities.
4. Ashanti had representation in the legislative council for the first time.
5. The governor continued to exercise his reserved and veto powers. It means that the governor had considerable powers reserved to him. Not only could he disallow a bill (veto power), but if he thought it necessary in the interest of public order, public faith, or good government, he could carry a Bill into law even though the legislative council refused to pass it (power of certification). As president of the Legislative council, the governor had a casting vote. The casting vote was used when there was a tie of votes in the council.
6. There was no representatives for the Northern Territories and Trans – Volta Togoland. The governor continued to legislate for the areas in consultation with the Provincial Commissioners.
7. The franchise remained largely limited to the municipal areas based on property and income
8. There was increased in elected representatives for municipalities of Accra, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi (3 to 5)

9. Representation for special interest was also increased to involve banking commerce and mining.
10. The nominated chiefs from Joint Provincial Council of chiefs and the Territorial Council basically represented themselves but not the people.
11. Chiefs were more than educated Africans (13 against 5)

THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION AND ITS ACTIVITIES UP TO THE 1951 ELECTIONS

J.B. Danquah, Arko Adjei and Paa Grant formed the United Gold Coast convention in 1947 with some other educated Ghanaians. It was the first political movement in the country in the post second world war era, and it was formed because of a number of reasons, which include:

1. **Dissatisfaction with The Pace of Political Reforms:** the educated elite were dissatisfied by the nature of political reforms that were introduced after the Second World War under the Allan Burns Constitution. After the war, the indigenous people became more enlightened politically, and they had expected their political awareness to correspond with the constitutional changes that were made by the colonists. However, as the reforms that were introduced fell short of their expectations, they felt the need to form a movement to channel their grievances to the colonist.
2. **Economic Hardship:** The post-war era brought about economic hardship in the country in the form of high prices of goods against low wages. The people became embittered against the colonial government, and this found vent in the formation of the UGCC which was to serve as an avenue for voicing out their grievances.
3. **Desires for Greater Socio-Economic Reforms:** the U.G.C.C. was formed because of the desire for rapid economic and social developments in the territory to reflect the post-war era. After the war the people had expected the colonialists to expedite action on socio-economic developments to lay the

foundation for self-determination. However, the colonialists appeared to be interested in delay tactics.

Achievements of the Party or the Impact of the Party on Nationalism in Ghana

1. It was the first political party in the in the Gold Coast. The formation of the UGCC led to the proliferation of other political parties, which were more radical than the UGCC. For instance, Kwame Nkrumah formed the Convention Peoples Party. It was the party that invited Nkrumah from London to be its secretary. For quite some time, two (2) political parties or factions emerged in the country (CPP and the UP factions). These fractions originated from the UGCC.
2. The party also contributed to 1948 riots in the Gold Coast. Members of the party were actively involved in organizing the people to oppose colonial rule. The arrest of the members of the party (the big 6) and their detention inspired the people of the Gold Coast to fight for their political rights.
3. The name "Ghana" for the Gold Coast was provided by one of the leaders of the UGCC, i.e. Dr. J. B. Danquah described now as the "doyen of Ghanaian Politics"
4. It served as an eye opener for the politicians to group themselves together to achieve autonomy for the country. In other words, it provided an opportunity to unite the nationalists in opposing British Colonial rule.
5. It established a newspaper, "The Talking Drums for political education of the people.
6. It established branches in the Southern area of the country and Ashanti where it undertook serious political mobilization through rallies.
7. Five of its members served on the Coussey Committee that drafted the 1951 Constitution

Problems/ failures

- It lacked organizational ability. It did not open branches throughout the country.
- It faced separatist attitude from within. For example, Nkrumah broke away to form the CPP.
- It did not win any seat in the legislative council.
- By 1949, the UGCC had become defunct giving way to other political parties, e.g. Gold Coast Congress Party etc.

THE 1948 RIOTS IN GHANA

The riots that occurred on 28th February 1948 took the British by surprise, as they had hitherto considered the Gold Coast as a model colony. If the riots had occurred in any other colony, there would have been less cause for complaint on the part of the British. It is important to stress here that if the British had bothered to study the trend of affairs that prevailed in the period leading to the riots they would not have been taken aback.

- **The Immediate Cause of The Riots:** The riots occurred because of a couple of factors, which are conveniently grouped into immediate, socio-economic and political. The immediate cause was the shooting and killing of the three ex-servicemen, out of the group of former service personnel, who had organized a procession to the seat of the colonial government to present their petition for resettlement. The officer commanding the castle shot the three ex-servicemen and that caused pandemonium, which eventually opened way for people to loot foreign shops.
- **Frustration among the Educated Elite:** the frustrations were thrown into because of the fact that the 1946 Allan Burns Constitution fell short of their political aspirations. The post-second world war era ushered in hopes and aspirations for the nationalists with regard to the quest for self-determination,

and they had expected the 1946 constitution to usher in greater political reforms, leading to political freedom.

- **Massive Unemployment:** the rate of unemployment in the territory made a large number of the people frustrated, and this found vent in the riots. People who were without any sense of livelihood were bound to be desperate. The people blamed the whites for their woes, and hence the riots.
- **Neglect of The Demands of The Elite:** the inability of the colonial government to attend to the plight of the ex-servicemen contributed to the rioting. Despite the fact that these service personnel had defended the course of British imperial government during the Second World War, they were not resettled at the cessation of the hostilities of the war. They were resentment against the colonial government.
- **Racial Discrimination in The Civil Service:** The practice of racial discrimination in the civil service, which had prevailed for a long time also made the masses of people dissatisfied with the colonial government. In those days, the least paid European received wage higher than the highest paid African. In addition, there were only a few Ghanaians in the key posts of the civil service, and that was seen as grossly unfair.
- **Shortage of Consumer Goods:** the general shortage of consumer goods at the markets. The people, who were smarting under harsh economic conditions of the period of the post-second world War, had expected the colonial government to put in place some remedial measures. However, this was not to be, hence the riots
- **High Prices of Goods:** after the Second War the prices of consumer goods shot high up to the sky to the miseries of the already suffering masses of people. Many Ghanaians could not afford decent life because the prices of goods were beyond their pockets. This trend of affairs created a lot of dissatisfaction in the people, and which found vent in the riots.

- **The Cutting of The Cocoa Trees:** the cutting down of the diseased cocoa trees by the colonial government without compensation to the affected farmers. The farmers became angry with the colonial government officials for that action, as their source of livelihood was put under serious threat

THE EFFECTS OF THE RIOTS

- The arrest and detention of the members of the main political party, that is, the United Gold Coast Convention. The colonial government arrested the Big Six in the politics of the country on the ground that they might have instigated the riots.
- **Increase in Political Awareness:** sharp increase in political awareness and agitation in the country. After the riots, the people became more focused and determined in their effort to get the colonial to concede self-determination to the country. This was very pronounced in the urban areas.
- **Increase in Constitutional Political Reforms:** Another effect of the riots was that it caused the British Colonial government to expedite action on the constitutional and political processes in the country. Among other things, the riots led to the promulgation of the 1951 Coussey Constitution, which marked advancement over the previous constitution
- **Introduction of Universal Suffrage:** This marked the completion of the evolution of franchise in the country's political light. All qualified adults were enfranchised as a result constitutional reforms that were made in the few years subsequent the riots. The riots that occurred on 28th February 1948 took the British by surprise, as they had hitherto considered the Gold Coast as a mode colony. If the riots had occurred in any other colony, there would have been less cause for complaint on the part of the British.
- **Destruction of properties:** properties worth several millions of pounds were destroyed. People went about looting and burning shops that belonged to the

European traders. The situation spread rapidly to other towns in the country including towns like Nsawam, Nkawkaw and Koforidua.

- **Election in 1951:** A general election based on the 1951 Constitution was held in February, 1951. The parties which contested the elections were the Convention People's Party (CPP), the National Democratic Party (NDP), the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). The CPP won thirty-four, (34) out of thirty-eight (38) contested seats i.e. the five (5) municipal seats and thirty-three (33) rural seats. The remaining four (4) seats were won by the UGCC – three (3) and one (1) by an independent candidate. This was after the agitation during the riots.
- **Loss of human lives:** in all, about twenty (20) people were killed in the riot while two hundred and thirty seven (237) were injured.

THE WATSON COMMISSION

The Watson Commission was a Commission of enquiry allotted by Sir Hallen Creasy, who was the governor of the Gold Coast (1948-1949) to look into the disturbances that occurred on the Gold Coast in 1948. The Watson Commission was chaired by Andrew Aiken Watson.

Recommendation by the commission

- The Watson Commission recommended that Ghanaians should have all the control over things that were done in the country
- The Watson Commission recommended that grievances and complaints of the ex-servicemen be addressed
- The Watson Commission recommended that Ghanaians should be provided with some facilities at their workplace, such as housing
- The Watson Commission recommended amending the Allan Burns Constitution to make it much more democratic for Ghanaian to participate

in the legislative Council. The study suggested that the Legislative Assembly be led a speaker rather than the governor

- The Watson Commission recommended the expansion and improvement of facilities for education, especially at the secondary level.
- The Watson Commission recommended the replacement of the old Native Authority by new system of local government which would be more influence to elect Ghanaians.

THE FORMATION OF CPP BY NKRUMAH

The Convention Peoples Party was launched in Accra on 12 June 1949. It had Nkrumah as its leader. This prominent nationalist sought to translate his political ambition into reality, hence the formation of that political party. The membership of this new party was opened to all genuine politically inclined Ghanaians, irrespective of their social standing. It embraced supporters from the old and the young, powerful trade unions and other pressure interests. The party turned out to be the first mass party in the country.

Reasons for the formation of the CPP or Why Nkrumah broke from UGCC

- **Ideological factors:** Kwame Nkrumah was heavily influenced by communist and revolutionary ideas. To Nkrumah, the UGCC was conservative or reactionary in outlook and not a mass political movement.
- **Conflict over methods to be used to demand independence:** As people who shared liberal democratic methods to achieve political objectives, the main aim of the original leaders of UGCC was, "Self-Government in the shortest possible time". On the other hand, Nkrumah was a radical and militant as opposed to the gradual and liberal democratic approach. His main aim was "Self-Government Now". Its programme of Self-Government in the shortest possible time" was not attractive to the masses as the CPP's programme of "Self-Government Now.

- **Personality and power clash:** Undoubtedly, Nkrumah had considerable organizational ability and he was popular with the people. Nkrumah achieved popularity through the formation of Committee on Youth Organization (C. Y. O) and daily newspaper, the Accra Evening News. The leadership of UGCC became disturbed because Nkrumah did all these without consulting them. They became increasingly suspicious on Nkrumah's motives and gradually came to dislike his militancy.
- **Nkrumah's exclusion from the Coussey Committee:** The exclusion of Nkrumah from the all-African Coussey Committee contributed immensely to the split between Nkrumah and UGCC. The UGCC leaders wanted a way of getting rid of Nkrumah. An opportunity came when the leaders were invited to serve on the committee without Nkrumah. Nkrumah took the opportunity to tour the whole country. It was at Tarkwa that the final decision to break from the UGCC was made.
- **Nkrumah's suspension from the party:** The growing differences between Nkrumah and the UGCC reached their climax when in August 1948; Nkrumah was suspended as the secretary general of the UGCC. This gave him the chance to break away completely and to form his own party.
- **UGCC was an elite party:** Furthermore, the UGCC was miserable lacking in the energy, skill and organizational capability necessary to canalize the considerable discontent then existing in the country into an effective political weapon against the colonial administration. Since it was an elite party, its moderate appeals failed to attract any significant support from the working classes and the youth.
- **Nkrumah was radical while UGCC members were conservative:** The CPP's radical programme of a happy tomorrow for everybody with the elimination of colonialism "Now" was in accord with the mood of the masses, especially the working classes and the youth that formed the core of the nationalist crusade. All this made the CPP more attractive to people.

WHY THE CPP WON THE 1951 ELECTIONS IN GHANA

1. **Charismatic Aura of Nkrumah:** Dr. Nkrumah was blessed with charisma and charms that endeared him to many hearts in the country. He used touching speeches to impress the masses, and that won him the deserved vote.
2. **Organization Machinery:** Its organizational machinery was beyond reproach. The leader used the language understood by the masses of people in his campaigns. Besides, the party succeeded in aligning itself with the TUC and CYO, and that broadened its membership horizon.
3. **Propaganda Machinery:** The CPP was able to win the 1951 and subsequent elections in the country because of its propaganda machinery. The party was alleged to have campaigned that the leadership of the UGCC had been bribed by the colonialists to support the delay of our independence. This discredited the leadership of the UGCC in the eyes of the Ghanaian body politic.
4. **Previous Electoral Success:** due to its previous electoral success in bye-elections held in Kumasi and Cape Coast Municipalities. The success made the party successful in the eyes of the electorate, who did not hesitate to vote massively for the party in the election.
5. **Women's Wings:** The Women's Wings of the CPP was instrumental in the electoral success of the party. The Women's Wings did a lot of canvassing, and succeeded in getting a large number of female fraternity to vote convincingly for the party. The vote of the women added to other votes to push the party to the top in the election.
6. **Slogan:** In all its electoral campaigns, it used the slogan, "self-determination", and this touched the hearts of many people. The people, convinced they had had enough of colonialism, thought it wise to give their vote to the CPP.
7. **Reduction in Voting Age:** there was reduction in the statutory age for voting from 25 years to 21 years. Reduction in the voting age made many youths eligible to vote. The youth in those days, formed an integral part of the CPP and their vote played vital role in the party's success

8. **Nkrumah's Arrest:** the CPP won the election and the subsequent ones because of Nkrumah's arrest and detention. Nkrumah's arrest on charges of subvention, treason and sedition, due to his instigation of the civil disobedience, made him a hero in the eyes of many Ghanaians. Most people gave their vote to his party because they saw in him an epitome of a selfless nationalist, who was willing to die for his motherland.

Achievement of Nkrumah when He was the leader of government Business

The CPP Government's first term of office lasted from 1951 to June 1954, and it was easily the most successful and the most beneficial to the country. That period was marked by unprecedentedly rapid social, economic and political developments. It was also Nkrumah's finest period.

Taking advantage of the huge reserves accumulated during and after the war and of the high price of cocoa which in fact continued to rise during the period under review, Nkrumah and his CPP Government took bold, highly imaginative and practical steps to push the development of the country on all fronts. Hence in place of the timid colonial *Ten-Year Development Plan* drawn up in 1946 involving the expenditure of only £11.5 million, the CPP Government produced a

Five-year Development Plan together with an accelerated plan for education which was to cost £120 million. The development plan was divided into four sections, namely, economic and productive services, communication, social services, common services and general administration. A great deal of emphasis was placed on social services and on communications to which as much as 35 per cent of the total amount was devoted. Many of the existing roads were surfaced with bitumen, a number of completely new roads were constructed and the coastal road between Accra and Takoradi was begun. The extension of Takoradi harbour was continued and above all, the construction of a completely new harbour at Tema was started. The Akyease Kotoku railway, which was to reduce the train journey between Accra and Takoradi by 163 miles, was also started.

The main artery of the country, the Accra-Kumasi-Tamale-Bolgatanga route and the 805 ft. Adomi Bridge over the Volta were both completed during this period. The government also paid a great deal of attention to the development of agriculture, and in particular to the rehabilitation of the cocoa industry. When the CPP Government came into power, the cocoa industry was being seriously threatened by swollen shoot disease. To deal with the situation, the government drew up a new deal for cocoa in January 1952 under which it promised a total amount of 10s for every cocoa tree cut down (4s for every tree cut down and 2s a year for three years for replanting a new tree). By this method and also as a result of very effective propaganda in which the need for cutting out the affected trees was urged on the farmers, the government was able not only to win the cooperation of the farmers but even to resume compulsory cutting out which the CPP had opposed during the 1951 electioneering campaign.

The government, also **set up the Cocoa Purchasing Company in 1952** partly to break the monopoly which expatriate firms were enjoying over the local marketing of cocoa, partly to relieve the age-long debts of cocoa farmers through the granting of loans, and partly to strengthen the CPP in the rural areas. A great deal was also achieved in the social field. First on the list was the provision of housing especially for the urban dwellers.

The government **completed the municipal housing projects** already begun in the towns of Accra, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi at a cost of £2.5 million. The government also brought in a Dutch firm to build Modern prefabricated houses suitable for those in the lower income brackets but this scheme was, however, a total failure. The government also initiated the policy of granting housing loans totaling up to £2 million. Health services were also improved. Good drinking water was provided in some of the rural areas by the boring of holes and by the construction of new reservoirs, while the existing water-supply facilities in the municipalities were expanded. The principal achievement in

the social field during this first period, however, was the construction of the new, hospital in Kumasi at a cost of £1.5 million.

With a view to alleviating some of the post-war hardships imposed on Ghanaians, the government also introduced a new wage and salary structure for the civil service based on the recommendations of the Lidbury Commission.

It was also during this period that the first practical move towards the implementation of the Volta River Project was made. This project, which had been discussed by the Colonial Government since the 1920s, involved building a dam on the Volta River to produce hydroelectric power to be used for industrialization and for the establishment of an aluminium industry through the exploitation of the rich bauxite deposits in the country. The move involved the initiation of discussions by the Nkrumah Government with the Aluminium Company Limited of Canada and the British Aluminium Company and the setting up in 1953 of the Volta River Preparatory Commission under the chairmanship of Commander R.G.A. Jackson which submitted its report as to the feasibility of the project three years later.

In the **field of education**, the achievements were no less impressive, at least quantitatively. **Free compulsory primary education for children between the ages of six and twelve** was introduced and the post-primary system was reorganized. Secondly, the government not only continued the subsidies given to mission schools but also allowed local councils to establish their own schools.

The tremendous expansion that took place within the first year of the CPP Government is evident from the fact that the number of registered pupils in elementary schools had increased from 212,000 in December, 1950, to 270,000 by January, 1952. To provide the necessary teaching staff, the government set up sixteen new teacher-training colleges from 1952-4 thereby increasing the annual output of teachers from 791 in 1951 to 1,680 in 1955. Secondary and university education was also vigorously promoted. Thus the number of government-assisted

secondary schools increased from thirteen in 1951 to thirty-one in 1955, while the government not only contributed £1.5 million out of its development fund to the University College of the Gold Coast, but in 1952 it also established the College of Arts, Science and Technology, now the University of Science and Technology, in Kumasi at a cost of some £1.5 million. The government also awarded a large number of scholarships to students to pursue courses abroad not available locally, such as law, medicine and the applied sciences,

In the political field, The Africanization of the civil service was accelerated so that the number of Africans holding senior, or as they were popularly known 'European' posts, rose from 171 in 1949 to 916 in 1954 and to 3,000 in 1957.

In 1951, the Nkrumah Government introduced a new system of local government in which the old native authorities were abolished, and new local, district and urban councils composed mostly of elected members were set up. In the elections to the councils in 1952, the CPP swept the polls and the youth and school leavers thus replaced the chiefs in the local government field. At the central government level, not only was the title of Nkrumah changed from Leader of Government Business to the more elegant and more appropriate one of Prime Minister in 1952, but the Nkrumah Government forced the British Government to introduce a new constitution in 1954.

Under this constitution, there was to be first a Legislative Assembly of one hundred and four members, all of whom were to be elected, and then a cabinet which was to be responsible to Parliament and not to the Governor. In other words, the country was to advance towards the status of internal self-government and 15 June 1954 was fixed as the date for this crucial general election.

UNIT 2

GHANA UNDER KWAME NKRUMAH

Nkrumah's rule in Ghana can be divided into two distinct periods: from March 1957 to July 1960, and from July 1960 to February 1966 when he was overthrown in a coup organised by the police and the army. July 1960 roughly marks the adoption of the new Republican constitution, the outbreak of the Congo crisis and Nkrumah's ideological shift from western democracy to African socialism, and from free trade and capitalism to economic control and ownership of the means of production by the state. We will now deal with Nkrumah's activities in the political and economic fields during the first period.

Nkrumah's internal political activities were governed by the conditions of the day and were aimed primarily at strengthening his own position as well as that of his government. Though the CPP won the 1956 elections, it polled a total of 398,141 votes as compared with the opposition parties which polled as many as 299,116 votes. Indeed, from the election results, the CPP was quite weak in Asante, the Volta, the Northern and Upper Regions.

Moreover, Nkrumah and the CPP did not like the regional assemblies forced on them in the independence constitution as a compromise by the British Government. At the time of independence, further tensions were evident; the people of Southern Togoland were in open rebellion and in fact boycotted the independence celebrations. In Accra tension between the CPP and the Ga people grew every day from the time of independence and ended in the formation of the Ga Shifimokpee, (the Ga Standfast Association) in July 1957. Since this movement soon joined forces with the opposition groups, the CPP began to feel its position seriously threatened.

It is against this background that we must view the political measures introduced by Nkrumah and his government during the period under review. They suspended the NLM-dominated Kumasi City Council and ordered the probing of its activities,

obviously in order to break the hold of the NLM in Kumasi. They then appointed CPP politicians as Chief Regional Commissioners in place of civil servants who were all British. This was clearly to strengthen the CPP in the regions. In July 1957 they passed the Deportation Act which was immediately applied to deport Amadu Baba and that Lalemi two of the leading members of the opposition in Kumasi, as well as a number of anti-CPP Syrians and Lebanese in the country.

The government then withdrew its recognition of the strong NLM supporter, Nana Ofori Atta, as Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa state, and set up a commission to probe the affairs of the anti-CPP Akyem Abuakwa State Council. This measure was a means of intimidating the anti-CPP traditional rulers and state councils. In December 1957, the Nkrumah government introduced the Avoidance of Discrimination Act to organisations, parties and societies which were confined only to particular tribal, racial and religious groups, which were used for political purposes.

Under this law, almost all the existing opposition parties and associations became illegal. The Emergency Powers Act was then introduced and applied in Kumasi in January 1958. The government separated the Bono-Ahafo area in the Asante region and created it as a separate region with its own House of Chiefs, and also went on to recognise a host of chiefs who were pro-CPP in the Asante and Volta regions as paramount chiefs.

The former of these measures was a reward for the people of the Bono-Ahafo region who had voted solidly CPP in the 1956 elections. The regional councils set up under the independence constitution were abolished with a view to concentrating power at the centre and weakening regional and ethnic sentiments and loyalties.

The last of these measures, which turned out to be the most notorious of all, was the Preventive Detention Act which Nkrumah's government rushed through

Parliament between 14 and 16 July 1958. This Act empowered the government to arrest and detain for five years anybody suspected of or found acting in a manner prejudicial to the defense of Ghana, to her relations with other states and to state security.

Political Developments

In its consolidation efforts, the CPP first suspended the Kumasi City Council in order to break the dominance of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) in Kumasi, and then appointed CPP members as chief regional commissioners in place of civil servants in the regions where the party was weak. The Ghana Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1957 was framed in a way to give the Minister of the Interior the right to determine who was a citizen of Ghana, and people who were denied Ghanaian citizenship could not appeal against the decision in the courts.

In July, 1957, the government passed the Deportation Act, which was immediately used to expel from the country two members of the NLM, Amadu Baba and Alhaji Lalemi, both of Nigerian descent, as well as a number of anti-CPP Syrians and Lebanese, who were believed to be offering support and financial assistance to the opposition. The government then withdrew its recognition of the NLM and Nana Ofori Atta, as Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa.

In December, 1957, the Avoidance of Discrimination Act was introduced to stifle all organisations, parties and societies organised on ethnic, regional, racial and religious lines which were used for political purposes.

In 1960, a new Constitution was introduced which made Ghana a Republic from July 1, that year. The last British Governor-General, Lord Listowel, left the country and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the first President after defeating Dr. J.B. Danquah in the elections. The president was, therefore, made both the Head of State and the Head of Government. He was granted the powers to pass decrees to override the laws of Parliament. The Constitution also gave the president the

powers to appoint, discipline and dismiss the Chief Justice and the members of the entire Public Services.

After a referendum conducted in 1964, Ghana was officially declared a one-party state on February 21, 1965. The result of the referendum showed that 2,773,920 Ghanaians voted "Yes" to the proposal of the one-party state and the president's power to dismiss judges of the High Court. Only 2,462 voted against it.

In the general elections held the following year, all the CPP members were elected unopposed. Names of the new Parliamentarians were read on the radio. This factor drew much criticism from those who opposed the government. They argued that normal election procedures were not followed. In 1965, the Presidential Election Act was passed in 1965. This law gave the CPP complete monopoly over nomination of candidates for presidential elections. It was an attempt to fill the highest and most important political posts with CPP members.

With regard to political ideology, from 1957 to 1960, Nkrumah practiced **capitalism** and shifted to **socialism**, then to **Nkrumahism** and finally to **consciencism** during the 1960–1966 period. Actually, Nkrumah converted to socialism in the late 1930s and early 1940s, but it was after July 1, 1960 that he started to implement socialist policies. A number of reasons have been offered to explain why Nkrumah failed to implement socialist policies until after 1960. One reason is that until after independence, socialist ideas were not popular with most Ghanaians, including CPP party members and ministers.

Again, the 1957 Constitution did not grant Nkrumah all the powers he needed for the socialist reconstruction of Ghana. In addition, during the 1957–1960 period, Nkrumah needed loans for his industrialisation projects and capital investment from the Western powers who practiced capitalism. As a result, he needed to be very cautious in order not to antagonise his creditors. Most importantly, Nkrumah needed time to train a core of scientific socialists who would help him practice his socialist policies.

And fortunately for him, by 1960, the people around him who controlled the Trade Union Congress (TUC), the press (the *Evening News* and the *Ghanalan Times*), the CPP, the Nkrumah Ideological Institute, and the financial sector (Bank of Ghana and Ghana Commercial Bank) were all devout scientific socialists, and so Nkrumah found it relatively easy to put his socialist ideas into practice. It was in an attempt to propagate his socialist ideas that Nkrumah established the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba where future academicians were indoctrinated.

Clearly, by 1966, the CPP had succeeded in crippling all opposition parties. Nkrumah claimed that the C.P.P. ‘‘embodied the will of the people’’. Therefore, the party came to control all social, economic and political life of Ghana. All organisations were transformed into political instrument of the party. They included the Ghana Women’s Movement, Ghana Workers’ Brigade, Ghana Trade Union Congress, United Ghana Farmers’ Council, and the Ghana Young Pioneers.

Economic Developments

However, during the 1957–1960 period, Nkrumah continued the *laissez faire* policy of the colonial regime. The only sectors that witnessed changes were those of cocoa buying and banking. Nkrumah did so because of his belief that the country could afford that policy, and he also desired to attract foreign investment and financial support for the Volta River Project, for which reason he was more careful not to antagonise and scare away investors. This does not mean that Nkrumah did not do anything about the economy at all. In fact, special attention was paid to the development of agriculture, manufacturing, and industrialisation.

Development of Agriculture

Agricultural development between 1957 and 1966 took some important features. The Nkrumah administration tackled the cocoa industry which had been crippled by swollen shoot disease. In order not to offend the farmers, compensation

was paid in cash for every diseased cocoa tree destroyed by the government. Farmers were also encouraged to re-plant the trees within three years. The Cocoa Purchasing Company was established in 1962 to break the monopoly enjoyed by foreign companies. The company bought cocoa and offered loans to farmers.

The government also placed emphasis on diversification. There was improvement in the production of alternative crops like coffee, pineapples and banana for export. The timber industry was developed and livestock farming, particularly poultry, cattle and sheep, was also developed. Another feature was the expansion of existing agricultural facilities. New experimental stations were established. Institutions were also set up to train agricultural personnel. One of these was the Soil Science Institute at Kwadaso, Kumasi. The government encouraged the study of agricultural science in the primary and secondary schools as well as teachers training colleges. Also, the faculties of agricultural at the University of Ghana, Legon, and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), Kumasi were expanded.

Schemes were also set up under which farmers were made to study modern methods of agriculture at well-established experimental farms. Improved seeds and breeds of livestock were sold to farmers at highly subsidised rates. This method was introduced in order to improve the cultivation and breeding standards. Also, trained Agricultural Extension Officers were sent to the field to advise the farmers on scientific methods of agriculture.

Other innovations in agriculture during this period included the introduction of improved irrigation methods. Dams were built to achieve these goals. Besides, mechanised farming and the use of artificial fertilizer were introduced. Large quantities of agricultural machinery, especially tractors imported mainly from the Eastern European countries, were used.

Again, the government provided credit facilities to farmers and assured them of ready markets as well as good prices for their commodities. The Agricultural Credit Bank was established together with other loan schemes.

Besides, the Agricultural Co-operative Societies were introduced. The Cocoa Marketing Board, established in 1947, and the Agricultural Produce Marketing Board, set up in 1962, solved the problem of marketing the principal agricultural products like cocoa, coffee, cotton, kola nuts and maize. The Board also awarded scholarships and financed services, particularly in the rural areas.

Another feature of the agrarian revolution was the organisation of regular agricultural shows. During such occasions, prizes were awarded to outstanding farmers. Farmers were also offered bonuses yearly. These incentives boosted the morale of the farmers to improve standards and production.

Other methods were introduced to boost agriculture. For example, the Ghana Farmers Council and the Ghana Workers Brigade were set up to organise farmers to improve productivity. The State Farms Corporation was also established in 1962 to receive seeds, equipment, management and technical training from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic. Again, the State Fishing Corporation and Food Processing Unit were established to help promote agriculture in Ghana.

Effects of the Development of Agriculture

The introduction of agricultural science and the education of the people on scientific methods came to generate interest in agriculture. Many educated people, therefore, began to leave the white-collar jobs to undertake agriculture.

With the introduction of mechanised and improved agriculture in Ghana, a very strong base was provided for the growth of industry. Many industries sprang up which began to use the agricultural raw materials. Example was the Cocoa Processing Company at Tema and the Food specialist Limited, which began to process Ghana's cocoa.

The diversification of agriculture also enabled the farmers to grow a variety of crops. Attention was gradually being drawn from the one-crop economy which had characterised Ghana in the past. Again, Ghanaian farmers were assured of a ready market for their crops. Prices for their commodities also improved gradually.

The result was that they now began to enjoy a better standard of living than in the past.

The development of agriculture also enabled many Ghanaians to have access to loans from the banks. It helped to cripple the monopoly enjoyed by some money-lenders. Farmers now learnt the use of the banking institutions.

The destruction of cocoa trees and other crops by swollen shoot, weevils and other insects became a thing of the past. The Cocoa Research Institute, for instance, started to find antidote to the cocoa problem. Other insecticides imported into the country also controlled other pests.

With the development of agriculture, Ghana gained international prestige. Ghana's cocoa, for instance, proved to be of the highest grade on the world market. By 1966, Ghana was the world's leading producer of cocoa.

The development of agriculture also made Ghana depend less on imported goods. Consequently, the nation was able to accumulate huge external financial reserves between 1957 and 1966. The amount was used on industrial raw materials which could not be produced locally.

Development of Manufacturing Industries

The CPP government under Nkrumah also made bold attempts to encourage the development of manufacturing industries during the period after independence. Between 1957 and 1966, the government introduced programmes which could produce professionals and skilled supporting staff needed in the industrial sector of the economy. For example, the curricula of the educational institutions were diversified to place emphasis on technical, commercial and vocational courses. Facilities and courses in the country's three universities in Accra, Kumasi and Cape Coast were also expanded. Apart from the training of administrators, other professionals like engineers, technologists, pharmacists, doctors and para-medical staff emerged from the universities annually to be absorbed by the industrial sector. Also, in order to solve the problem of personnel,

scholarship schemes were designed for some Ghanaians to attend foreign institutions of higher learning.

The government also nationalised some industries, and made them joint-enterprises. With the government industries, however, statutory boards were set up to control the purchase and marketing of their products. Other attempts made to boost the growth of local industries included the granting of tax reliefs by the government. Some essential imported raw materials were also exempted from custom duties.

To overcome the problem of the country's over-dependence upon foreign loans and capital equipment, the government established some institutions. They included the Capital Investment Board and the Industrial Development Bank. The Ghana Standard Board was also established to control quality of production.

The Nkrumah government also passed laws to prevent foreigners from participating in some areas of industry and commerce. This measure was adopted to enable the people control the national economy.

To develop industry further, the government established some industrial enterprises. They later merged to form the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation (GIHOC). These industries manufactured and marketed many goods including matches, canned foods, pharmaceuticals, metals and electronics.

The Nkrumah government realised the need for a cheap source of power to encourage industrialisation. To this end, the Volta River Hydro-electric Project at Akosombo was tackled during this period. Commissioned on January 23, 1966, the Volta Dam began to provide cheaper power for both domestic and industrial use.

Tertiary Industries

The tertiary industries included transport and communication, banking and insurance services, tourism, hotels and entertainment services. Many roads and new highways were constructed. An outstanding one was the Accra-Tema Motorway. Other important ones included the Accra-Takoradi-Axim-Tarkwa trunk

road. Other developments included the completion of the new modern port of Tema in 1962.

The Black Star Line was also established to handle the shipping of the country's exports and imports. Internal and external air services were expanded. With the improvement of telecommunication services, business transactions became easier.

The same period also witnessed the introduction of the country's own currency, the cedi. Besides, the Bank of Ghana was established to control all the financial institutions in the country. The Ghana Commercial Bank and some insurance companies were set up. The government, thus, came to control financial policies affecting industries and other national enterprises.

Tourism was boosted. The State Hotels Corporation was established to promote hotel services. To boost the tourism industry further, the Ghana Tourist Board was established during the period.

The government also gave much support to the development of sports and entertainment in Ghana. To this end, the Central Organisation of Sports was set up under the management of Mr. Ohene Djan, the Director of Sports.

Effects of Industrial Development

Ghana ceased to be a producer of raw materials for exports so as to receive finished products. This was the case under colonial rule. The country now came to produce some of the needed goods like textiles, food items, cooking utensils, machetes, shoes, etc. Much foreign exchange reserve was conserved as a result.

With the development of industries, many Ghanaians were provided with employment. A great number of them also gained from training at home and abroad.

Industrial development enabled Ghana to quest for cheaper form of power. This led to the construction of the Akosombo dam with its numerous benefits. Besides, the provision of hydro-electric power led to the growth and expansion of

several towns in Ghana. For example, the establishment of several industries at Tema enabled it to rise from an obscure fishing village into a modern township.

Ghana's external trade also expanded. The importation of industrial raw materials and exportation of finished products resulted in the development of transport and communication facilities.

Industrial development, however, had some adverse effects. It led to the use of much of the foreign exchange reserves in importing machinery and raw materials that could not be produced at home. Also, many young people drifted to the urban areas to look for jobs in the industries. The agricultural sector, therefore, suffered, as labourers became scarce on the farms.

Social Developments

Many observers commend Nkrumah for his remarkable achievements in the social field. Nkrumah paid attention to education, health services, housing, water supply, electricity, and roads.

Development of Education

The Nkrumah government tackled educational issues with two main objectives; (a) to extend literacy to a great number of Ghanaians; (b) to train a lot of skilled personnel to provide the manpower needs in the political, economic and social fields of the country.

The Accelerated Development Plan of Education, launched in 1951, was followed after independence. Under it, the government pursued a vigorous plan to cover primary, secondary, teacher-training, polytechnic and university education.

In 1961, the Compulsory Primary Education Scheme was introduced by the Nkrumah government. Tuition fees, textbooks, and other school materials were all to be free. This was the first of its kind in Africa. Later, the system was extended to second cycle schools.

There was also the diversification of the curricula in the secondary, teacher training, technical and commercial schools. Emphasis was now placed on practical courses to produce manpower for skilled and manual jobs. The old idea of educating people for white-collar jobs was discouraged.

Higher education was also developed. The University of Ghana, Legon, founded in 1948, and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, established in 1952, were expanded. In 1962, the University College of Science Education, now University of Cape Coast, was established. The University of Cape Coast was, among other things, to lay emphasis on research in education and training of graduate teachers.

Emphasis was also placed on Adult Education in Ghana. The government helped in the adult literacy drive by organising courses to teach the illiterate ones how to read and write in their local languages. The universities, particularly the University of Ghana, set up adult education and extra-mural departments, now the Institute of Adult Education, to help attain the objectives of the government.

The Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Developments provided informal education for people in the rural areas. The people were given general education in health and sanitation, co-operative development and communal work.

The government also paid attention to the promotion of the rich culture of Ghana. School children were encouraged to study and practice it. The University of Ghana was encouraged to open an Institute of African Studies in 1961 to teach traditional culture. A cultural centre was also opened in Kumasi to serve the general public. To support this move, the government created a Department of Culture in the Ministry of Education and also an Arts Council.

The Nkrumah government introduced scholarships and bursary schemes for the studies within Ghana and overseas. Some friendly countries and private organisations also supported these measures. Many Ghanaians, therefore, gained from the schemes.

The development of education could not be complete if students continued to write examinations controlled by foreign bodies. Hence, the government supported the West African Examination Council (WAEC), established in 1952, in its efforts to localise its questions and marking schemes. The Council, for many years, has served as a body for the conduct of examination in Ghana.

Result of the Development of Education

The development of education between 1957 and 1966 helped in producing a great number of personnel. They included teachers, administrators, engineers, architects, agriculturalists and accountants. It also produced some skilled supporting staff needed in several fields of the nation's development.

The fee-free education saved many parents who could not afford paying large sums of money to have their children educated. The provision of free textbooks also enabled people to start building personal libraries at home.

Ghana could now depend on the good research findings of her educated men and women. The expansion and diversification of courses in the polytechnics, specialist colleges and universities opened up large avenues of research.

Adults also gained from the development of education. They could now learn to read and write in at least the local languages. The Adult Education programme helped to improve the literacy rate in the country.

The active involvement of the government in education also meant that the old practice of sending a few students abroad for further studies gradually came to a halt. The nation was then able to conserve much foreign exchange which could have been spent for that purpose.

Ghanaian and African culture, as a whole, was preserved. As the higher institutions emphasised the traditional customs and books were written to identify them, Ghanaians began to go back to their roots. The idea of "African personality" came to be accepted by many Ghanaian scholars.

The development of education during the First Republic, however, produced some negative results. As more and more people became educated, the drift from the rural areas to the cities increased. Such scholars wanted white-collar jobs which now existed as a result of industrial development.

Again, with the development of education, the agricultural sector began to suffer. The reason is that few people remained in the agricultural sector to provide labour for the farms. The educated ones neglected and looked down upon agriculture.

Further, with free education, more and more graduates were produced annually. The problem here was that the government had an additional task of providing jobs to absorb the increasingly educated population.

Other problems associated with Nkrumah's educational policies were that over time, the encouragement given to vocational and technical education declined. Also, the poor quality and inadequate numbers of textbooks supplied, the failure to expand secondary education simultaneously with that of elementary education and other related shortcomings, however, detracted from the beautiful achievements Nkrumah made in the educational sector. What appears to be worse was Nkrumah's interference in the affairs of the universities.

Development of Health Services

Between 1957 and 1966, the government expanded the existing hospitals in the country. In this sense, modern equipment were provided to give better health services to the people. For example, the Korle-Bu Hospital, built by Sir Gordon Guggisberg in the colonial period, was expanded. Indeed, it was Nkrumah who added a teaching hospital to the existing Korle-Bu Hospital. The Okomfo Anokye Hospital in Kumasi and the Effia Nkwanta Hospitals in Sekondi were new hospitals built during the period.

To solve the problem of congestion in the major hospitals, the government built some polyclinics, health centres, maternity clinics and other health posts in both urban and rural areas.

The practice of patients paying fees for consultation and treatment in the clinics and hospitals was stopped. Ghana then became the first African country to provide free medical care for her people.

To improve the standards of health in Ghana also, the people were educated on how to improve sanitation. They were also taught the use of preventive medicine.

The government also sought the assistance of the World Health Organisation (WHO) in providing general inoculation and vaccination. The WHO was to help combat diseases like chicken pox, measles, yellow fever, smallpox and cholera.

In order to solve the problem of inadequacy of doctors and supporting staff like nurses, the University of Ghana set up a Medical School. The Korle-Bu Hospital also began to serve as a practical training ground for the doctors. Besides, a Faculty of Pharmacy was set up by the University of Science and Technology. Other schools for nursing were established in many towns throughout the country.

Results of the Development of Health Services

The bold attempt made by the Nkrumah government to develop the health services helped in controlling epidemic diseases like cholera and small pox. People became aware of the need to keep their surroundings clean and healthy.

The problem of inadequate staff and equipment facing the health authorities was controlled to some extent. As more doctors, nurses and other paramedical personnel were trained, a great number of patients could be attended to as quickly as possible.

Again, health facilities were extended to the rural communities as well. This was because the government built many regional and district hospitals and

clinics. The problem of patients travelling all the way to urban centres for medical care was minimised.

The development of medical services meant that modern methods of curing diseases were introduced to all sections of the community to assist traditional healing which had been in practice for several years. Diseases which traditional medicine had failed to cure were henceforth easily diagnosed and treated.

Moreover, simple drugs could now be manufactured in the country, if only the raw materials were obtained. The great number of pharmacists trained locally enabled Ghana to be self-reliant. There was no need importing common drugs like paracetamol and vitamin tablets.

The development of health service, however, had negative effects. The free medical care introduced by the CPP government meant that much foreign exchange had to be pumped into the exercise. It was not surprising that by 1966 the government had spent all the little money in the nation's coffers on health and other similar expensive ventures.

Also, in the development of health services, the government sadly neglected traditional medicine which had sustained the people for years, even before colonial rule was imposed on the country. Thus, the development of African traditional healing and cure was dealt with a deadly blow.

Housing, Water Supply, Electricity and Roads

Housing became an important problem which was tackled during the 1957-1966 period. Concentration of industries in the urban cities had created this problem. In order to solve this, a Ministry of Housing was created. The Ghana Housing Corporation was also established to construct modern houses and build well-planned estates. Under the Seven Year Development Plan which was launched in 1963, the Housing Corporation was charged to build some 50,000 houses estimated to cost £45 million. Besides, the Rural Housing Scheme was initiated. The Housing Loan Scheme and the system of hire-purchase were

sponsored to encourage individuals to possess their personal houses. The First Ghana Building Society also assisted many people, through a mortgage scheme, to build or purchase their own houses.

Water supply and electricity were other social services that were expanded during this period. Both urban and rural areas enjoyed from the rapid expansion of water supply and electricity.

There was also the construction of feeder roads to link the major trunk roads. Many outlying villages were also linked to urban and commercial centres. The opening of the rural areas was a measure designed to check the frequent drift to the cities.

Nkrumah's Foreign Policy

In foreign affairs, Nkrumah's African policy was governed by the principle of Pan-Africanism, which aimed at the total liberation of the entire African continent, and at the political union of the African independent states. Genuinely, Nkrumah always had a passionate interest in African unity, and had embraced the idea of Pan-Africanism during his student days abroad. Soon after independence, this idea was linked to Nkrumah's proclamation that the independence of Ghana was meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation of the African continent. As a result, he made serious efforts to assist African countries to regain their freedom and to unite them. Without doubt, what Nkrumah did here contributed significantly towards the liberation of Africa.

A major step towards the liberation of Africa was taken by Nkrumah in April, 1958 when he organised the African Conference in Accra. It was attended by the then eight independent African countries. They were Ghana, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia. During the Conference, matters affecting the liberation of Africa from colonial bondage were discussed.

In December, 1958, another conference was organised by Nkrumah. It was the All-African Peoples' Conference which was attended by representatives of

political parties, trade unions, and liberation movements all over Africa. When another conference was held in 1960 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Nkrumah was one of the African leaders who took part in the discussion on African liberation. Again, in 1961, Nkrumah participated in another conference. All people under colonial rule were encouraged to fight for their political independence.

The formation of the Casablanca Group in 1961 saw Nkrumah playing an active role in supporting the idea of applying radical methods to achieve African liberation. Other leaders of the group included the Heads of State of Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Libya. Nkrumah had earlier on formed the Ghana-Mali-Guinea Union in 1960.

Nkrumah's activities contributed significantly towards the birth of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, and placed Ghana very much in the forefront of a new Pan-Africanism firmly placed in Africa itself. In other words, Nkrumah was one of the founding fathers of the OAU. He was among the 32 original African leaders who signed the OAU Charter on May 25, 1963. Nkrumah's ideas of real "Continental Union Government" for Africa deeply influenced the OAU Charter.

Between 1957 and 1966, Dr. Nkrumah gave much assistance to several African countries and the Liberation Committee of the OAU. This was in the form of financial and material support. In 1958, for example, he gave Guinea a grant of £10 million to enable Guinea stand on its feet after opting for independence from France. The liberation movements in Africa were also encouraged morally and financially. It was through such assistance that, for instance, the MPLA under Augustino Neto succeeded in regaining independence for Angola. Amilcar Cabral and Louis Cabral were also assisted in their struggle against Portuguese colonial rule in Guinea Bissau.

During the same period, Nkrumah made Ghana a centre for the training of nationalist leaders. Offices were opened in Accra for African liberation affairs. Leaders like Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe gained their political experience and

inspiration from Ghana and later went to lead the liberation struggle in their various countries. In addition, Nkrumah did much to restore the dignity of Africa through his propagation of the idea of African personality. This theory was also taught at the centres for the training of nationalist leaders.

Besides, school children from countries under colonial and white-minority rule like Namibia and South Africa were accepted into Ghanaian institutions. They were placed under the United Nations Sponsored Programme. Through this exercise, many of them went back later to intensify the struggle for liberation in their countries.

On international forums, Nkrumah's voice was always heard whenever the question of African liberation came up. He furiously attacked colonialism, neo-colonialism, and the apartheid system in South Africa. He expressed the view that one day "Africa shall be free." No doubt, Ghana became the "Star of Africa" and Nkrumah himself "the Show Boy."

The economic liberation of Africa was another area where Nkrumah's role was felt. He stressed the need for a continental political union after which the economic bondage would be liberated. He hoped that one day, Africans would control their own economies. It was, perhaps, through Nkrumah's inspiration that the Economic Community of West African States (EOWAS) was formed after his death.

Nkrumah's Foreign Policy outside Africa

Outside Africa, Nkrumah's policy was guided by two principles, world peace and positive neutralism or non-alignment. However, within the first three years after independence, Nkrumah's policies practically depicted him more as pro-Western, but he established strong ties with the Communist East during the 1960–1966 period when he pursued socialist policies.

Opposition to Nkrumah's Policies

The first major opposition to Nkrumah's policies revealed itself in a series of strikes in 1960. An example was that of September 4 when workers of the Railways and Ports Authorities at Takoradi went on strike. The government budget of the year was bitterly criticised, and some of the CPP ministers were accused of amazing wealth. It was in the midst of this confusion that the Finance Minister, K.A. Gbedemah, left the country for self-exile.

One incident which occurred in August, 1962 was the attempt to assassinate the president at the village of Kulungugu in the Upper East Region, where Nkrumah had a stop-over after his state visit to Burkina Faso. More than 15 people lost their lives, including Nkrumah's own bodyguard. Three of Nkrumah's ministers were suspected of being involved. They were Arko Adjei, Tawia Adamafio and H.H. Coffie Crabbe. When the court set up under the Chief Justice to handle the case acquitted and discharged the suspects, Nkrumah used his presidential powers to dismiss the Chief Justice Sir Arku Korsah in December, 1963. A re-trial of the case was ordered and the victims were jailed.

Another attempt was made on the life of the president in January, 1964. The gunman, called Ametewe, was a constable on guard at the president's residence at Flagstaff House. The failure of Ametewe to kill the president led to his arrest, trial and execution. It also led to the detention of the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. E.R.T. Madjitey, and his deputy, as well as the dismissal of all the 9 regional heads of the police.

Opposition also came from the military. By 1965, Nkrumah had begun to suspect the allegiance of his top military officers. In July, 1965, therefore, Major General Out, who was the Army Commander, was dismissed with Major J. A. Ankrah, the Chief of Defense Staff.

Why delay in Nkrumah's Ideology

Nkrumah attributed this failure mainly to the evil maneuvers of the western and capitalist powers-hence the leftish turn in his own actions at home. These two reasons, however, were mere catalysts or precipitants. The fundamental basis for the change is that though Nkrumah had for a long time believed in socialism, he could not implement this belief before 1960.

Until independence, any such practical implementation was out of the question; while during the first three years of independence, because of his anxiety to attract foreign capital (especially for the Volta River Project), he was extremely careful not to do anything which would scare investors away. Moreover, the constitution on which Ghana won independence did not give Nkrumah all the powers he needed for the socialist reconstruction of society, and this constitution was not changed until July 1960.

Finally, Nkrumah had to build up a cadre of convinced socialists whom he could place in strategic positions and in control of the mass media before he could implement his plans. But by the end of 1960, Tettegah was the General Secretary of the TUC, T.D. Baffoe, the Editor of Ghanaian Times, Heyman, the Editor of Evening News, Tawia Adamafio, the General Secretary of the CPP, Amoako-Atta the Deputy Governor of the Bank of Ghana, T.O. Asare, the Executive Chairman and Managing Director of the Ghana Commercial Bank, and Barden the Director of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute established in Winneba in 1960 to turn out Ghanaian socialists and African freedom fighters. All these people who were in control of the press, the Party, the Ideological Institute, and the financial sector were all dedicated scientific socialists.

OVER THROW OF NKRUMAH

In the latter part of 1960, both the impending balance-of-payments crisis and Lumumba's murder served to reinforce Nkrumah's belief in socialism and African unity and in the essential nature of their immediate practical

implementation. As he said while laying the foundation stone of the Ideological Institute at Winneba in February 1961: I have never once stopped shouting to all Africans about African unity. The sad episode in the Congo more than justifies my fears about the unwisdom to stand alone'. And indeed from 1961 until his overthrow Nkrumah's overriding priority was the attainment of African unity.

However, as indicated already, only a minority of the party sincerely believed in socialism, or in African unity, and the attempt towards their practical implementation from 1960 was the first of the series of mistakes that were to lead to Nkrumah's overthrow. This move also explains why his fall was received with relief even among CPP members

The second principal reason for his overthrow and its popularity was a change that occurred in the character and personality of Nkrumah himself during the second period of his rule. Before independence and even up to the end of the first post-independence period, Nkrumah was accepted as one who was frugal in his tastes, abhorred money, wealth ostentation, and led a morally upright, indeed, exemplary life.

However, a number of his closest associates and fellow cabinet members agree that from 1960 onwards, all these laudable traits began to disappear, are instead Nkrumah became obsessed with his own power and ambition; he also became the subject of a most nauseating personality cult, and most surprisingly of all, he became superstitious, corrupt and immoral.

He also began to rely more and more on juju men, traditional priests and soothsayers and saw himself more and more as the man destined by God to become the first President of a United Africa. It is rather significant that in his last will, he referred to himself as Kwame Nkrumah of Africa. He accepted such ridiculous and nauseating appellations as 'Showboy, "His Messianic Dedication', 'Fount of Honour' and "Osagyefo'. He also acquired more and more mistresses on whom he lavished fantastic presents.

However, what surprised most of his closest associates was the extent of Nkrumah's corruption. From being a penniless politician on his return to Ghana in 1949, he was worth £250,000 in cash and gilt-edged assets by 1961, and by the time of the coup, this had increased to over £2 million. Against this, his total lawful earnings from 1961-6 amounted to only about £134,000. This huge wealth was built up from bribes, commissions, houses and estates and various businesses. It also included a sum of £750,000 taken by Nkrumah out of £1 million which the cabinet had decided to set aside as a "Trust for the advancement of Ghana."

While amassing all this wealth, he went on preaching openly against it and, after his famous but hypocritical dawn broadcast of April 1961, dismissed six of his ministers including Gbedemah, Dadison and Wife for being corrupt and asked others such as Krobo Edusel, Bensah, Korboe and Inkumsah to surrender part of their excess property to the state.

Nkrumah's feeling of isolation, his cowardice and distrust of his ministers were all partly due to the numerous attempts made on his life in Accra and at Kulungugu. His megalomania was partly due to the sycophantic hero-worship which he received from his colleagues, confidants and advisers.

Furthermore, it would appear from his wills and especially his last will dated 18 February 1966 in which he bequeathed all his earthly belongings of whatever kind and wherever situated to the Convention People's Party, that Nkrumah did not see much difference between his own private property and the property of the state and the CPP: on the strength of this evidence. Therefore, the extent of his corruption and dishonesty could be considerably diminished.

Nevertheless, by 1965 he had more than justified Lord Acton's famous dictum that absolute power corrupts absolutely. The Apaloo Commission which was set up by the National Liberation Council to investigate Nkrumah's assets was correct in concluding that in view of the findings we have made as to how he

acquired the bulk of this property which he controlled as a Trustee of the people of this country and his proved duplicity in many matters, we find it impossible to resist the observation that Kwame Nkrumah thoroughly unfitted himself for the high office of the President of Ghana

The most important reason for Nkrumah's overthrow, however, was the disastrous outcome of his activities in the economic, social and political fields between 1960 and 1966. Let us first analyze his political activities and their consequences during this period. Nkrumah's **first measure in this field was the introduction of a new Republican constitution** whose draft was approved in a plebiscite held on 19, 23 and 27 April 1960.

Though this plebiscite was openly rigged, the results were accepted by Nkrumah and his government. Under this constitution, the post of Governor General was abolished and the Prime Minister became the Head of State under the title of President. This change of the country to a Republic was in itself welcome to most Ghanaians who considered an Englishman at the head of the independent state of Ghana anachronistic.

What aroused opposition and fear were certain clauses of the new constitution? Article 55 gave the President Powers to rule by decree or legislative instrument. This clause was made even more objectionable by the fact that it was not even in the draft constitution which the people allegedly approved in the plebiscite but was added by the CPP dominated Constituent Assembly set up to pass that constitution.

Secondly, Article 44 empowered the President to appoint and dismiss the Chief Justice who was the President of the Supreme Court and the head of the Judiciary.

Thirdly, clause 51 vested in the President 'the appointment, probation, transfer termination of appointment, dismissal and disciplinary control of members

of the public services. These included the civil service, the judicial service, the police service, the local government service and such other services as may be provided by law. (In the draft proposals approved in the plebiscite, this clause was restricted only to the civil service).

Finally, under Article 24, the President was empowered to give assent to every bill passed by Parliament either wholly or in part or even to reject the whole bill. The overall effect of these clauses of this Republican constitution, then, was clearly to make the President a constitutional dictator who could rule by decree, dismiss any public servant and override the decisions of Parliament. And Osagyefo Nkrumah did use these powers from July 1960 when the constitution came into effect.

Orders beginning with The President commands... became very common during this period, while every person holding any public office anxiously listened to the Ghana Radio to find out whether he had been dismissed or not. This generated an atmosphere of insecurity which grew with the years as more and more public servants were summarily dismissed.

The final move in the constitutional field was made in 1964 by Nkrumah when in conformity with his socialist principles he organized another plebiscite to determine whether Ghana was to become a one-party State and whether the President should have powers to dismiss judges of the High Court at any time for reasons which appear to him sufficient.

The result of this plebiscite was of course a foregone conclusion. The 'Yes' votes were declared to be 2,773,920 and the No votes only 2,452 showing that as many as 92.8 per cent of the registered electorate in fact voted. Not only is this percentage obviously high but the very fact that not even a single 'No' vote was registered in the whole of, say, the Asante region makes complete nonsense of the results. Even Nkrumah himself could not have believed in the genuineness of the

results of the plebiscite, and yet he went on to declare the country a one-party State. Any hope that changes could be brought about through the ballot box even within the one-party system was abandoned in 1965, when instead of the elections which had been scheduled to take place, Osagyefo simply went to the radio to announce the names of those whom he had chosen to go to the new Parliament.

The absurdity and quixotic nature of all this was the fact that some of the new Parliamentarians did not even know where the constituencies that they were supposed to represent were. This step was quite clearly Nkrumah's crowning folly. After this farce, it became absolutely clear that the only way to get rid of Nkrumah or to bring about political change in Ghana was by unconstitutional means, either through assassination or a coup d'état.

Nkrumah's political activities were not confined only to the constitutional field. It was from July 1960 onwards that he began to make full use of the PDA (Preventive Detention Act) as opposition to his rule mounted and attempts on his life increased. Thus, while during the entire first post-independence period, that is up to the end of June 1960, Nkrumah detained only a total of 70 people, between July and December 1960 alone, he detained as many as 174 people.

This number rose to 311 in 1961, dropped to 254 in 1962 and rose again to 586 in 1963. The detainees of 1961, it must be noted, included not only opposition members such as Dr J.B. Danquah (**Joseph Kwame Kyeretwi Boakye Danquah**), John K. Lamptey, Victor Owusu, Fred Sarpong and Joe Appiah but also for the first time some CPP members like W.A. Wiafe and P.K.K. Quaidoo, both of whom were at the time also members of Parliament.

It must be pointed out that the figures quoted above are official figures and represent only those detainees who were actually admitted into government prisons. They do not include the many others who were held in police cells, in detention camps and other places. But what made this Act so detested was not so

much the number of people detained but rather the rumors about the inhuman treatment that the detainees were being given in detention, reports of the death of detainees, and the thousands of people whom the Act drove into exile who included Dr. K.A. Busia, Ekow Richardson and even Nkrumah's hitherto closest associates such as K.A. Gbedemah.

Since no reasons were given for these detentions and people were simply picked up at any time often on false information supplied by spies who were planted everywhere, nobody, not even Cabinet Ministers, felt secure in the country from 1961 onwards. Conditions grew much worse after the unsuccessful attempt on Nkrumah's life at Kulungugu in August 1962. Probably no single event filled the hearts of Ghanaians of all walks of life with such grief and shame as the death of Dr. J.B. Danquah and Obetsebi Lampitey in detention in 1965.

It was in the economic field, however, that the most marked changes took place in the period after 1960. Nkrumah's new approach to the economy was marked first and foremost by active state control of and participation in all sectors of the economy and secondly by a strong emphasis on industrialization. As he told the CPP study group at Flagstaff House on 22 April 1961:

Ghana is not a socialist state... we have still to lay the foundation on which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialization of our country. All talk of socialism, of economic and social reconstruction, are just empty words if we do not seriously address ourselves to the question of industrialization and agricultural revolution.

The budgets of 1960-1 and 1961-2 introduced a new system of purchase tax a compulsory savings scheme of 5 per cent deducted from wages and incomes over £120 per annum, a complicated system of exchange control and an import licensing system. The socialist pattern of economy was further underlined in the CPP's Programme for Work and Happiness drawn up in 1962 as well as in the

Seven-Year Development Plan of 1963. The two divided the economy into five sectors: the state, foreign private, joint state and foreign, the cooperative and the small-scale Ghanaian private sectors. In practice, it was the state sector that was given the greatest development assistance.

In the **field of trade**, from 1961 till the coup, Nkrumah and his government rigidly controlled imports and turned the Ghanaian National Trading Corporation, incorporated in 1961, into the main importer and distributor of goods in the country. Thus-4n December 1961, all open general licenses were revoked. In the field of mining too, the government established the State Mining Corporation in March 1961 which took over six out of the seven mines in the country.

It also set up the Accra State Diamond Corporation to take over all diamond mining from Africans and one Dutch diamond company. Thus by 1965, only one expatriate gold mining company, the Ashanti Goldfields, and three private diamond mining companies (CAST, AYCO, and Akim Concessions) were still operating in the country. In the construction field, the government set up the State Construction Corporation in February 1962 which, by 1964-5, was handling 75 per cent of all government construction work.

In the banking field too, attempts were made to divert business to the Ghana Commercial Bank. Thus in 1962, it was decided that before any civil servant could obtain a loan to buy a car, he must have an account with the Ghana Commercial Bank. This was also the only bank with which foreign buyers of cocoa could deal after the marketing of cocoa had been transferred to Accra and it alone handled all credit operations for the internal marketing of cocoa. Thus, while by 1961, the share of the Ghana Commercial Bank of the total commercial banks' deposits and all credits were 40 per cent and 50 per cent, by 1964, these had increased to 52 per cent and 84 per cent respectively. In the same way, through the use of administrative regulations, the State Insurance Corporation established in

1962 was controlling 50 per cent of total insurance business in the country by February 1966.

In the field of industrialization, a parallel expansion of the state sector was noticeable. By 1965, the number of wholly state-owned industries had increased from thirteen to twenty-two while as many as twenty others were being constructed.

In the field of agriculture, the government also set up the State Farms Corporation which established a number of state farms throughout the country. The Builders' Brigade was also renamed the Workers' Brigade and made to operate mainly in the agricultural sector also. Finally, the Volta River Project on which Nkrumah staked such considerable public funds was completed in 1965; on 23 January 1966, Nkrumah performed the official opening ceremony at Akosombo by switching on the lights generated by the hydroelectric power from the Volta.

Nkrumah and his government deliberately extended the participation and control of the state's economic workings of a policy which produced some notable successes, as well as some disastrous consequences. By the end of the period under review, the stranglehold of foreign capitalists on the economy had been broken. The mining industry and cocoa marketing were controlled by the state while the government had acquired 50 per cent of the import trade and was dominating the banking, insurance and construction fields to the disadvantage of the foreign companies as well as private Ghanaian enterprise. The completion of the Volta River Project was also a fantastic diplomatic and financial achievement on the part of Nkrumah.

In contrast, however, because of the inefficiency of the officials of the Ghana National Trading Corporation, the increasing fall of the country's foreign exchange reserves, and Nkrumah's insistence that local firms should import their goods from the eastern countries, Ghanaians experienced an acute shortage of

essential goods for the first time in 1964. By the end of that year, basic commodities such as sugar, rice, milk, flour, soap, drugs and spare parts for motor vehicles could not be obtained in the country and most shops had become empty. This acute shortage led to hoarding, deals in import licenses, and steep prices.

The situation continued throughout 1965 and at one time people had to queue in the Sports Stadium in Accra not to watch a football match but to purchase single packets of sugar. What made this situation so intolerable to Ghanaians was that in the face of such critical shortages of essential commodities all available foreign exchange was spent on such projects as the huge conference complex which became known as Job 600.

President of a United Africa, to serve as the headquarters of a Union Government of Africa. While others went hungry and vehicles to bring food to urban dwellers were on blocks because of the shortage of spare parts, Nkrumah and his ministers went about in luxury cars while the wife of one of them ever ordered a gold bed from Britain. By the end of 1965, the average Ghanaian was not only hungry he was also embittered and infuriated.

Equally disastrous was the outcome of activities in the industrial field. Of the twenty-two state owned factories in operation by 1963, only two were running at a profit. Losses incurred were due to bad management, lack of skilled labour, inadequate capital and lack of raw materials. Indeed, some factories, such as the tomato processing factory, the corned beef factory and the two sugar factories, were built without thought being given to the production of raw materials to feed the plants.

Industries generally were set up without the necessary pre investment feasibility surveys; in 1965, despite the poor results visible in the industrial sector, twenty more factories went into construction. Largely because of this reckless pace of industrialization, coupled with the steady decline in world cocoa prices, the

huge foreign reserves completely disappeared while the external debt rose from £20 million at independence to about £400 million by February 1966. By the end of 1964, Ghana was virtually bankrupt, and yet Nkrumah flatly refused to heed the advice of his civil servants to trim his industrial and development plans accordingly.

Instead, he began to resort to financial houses in Europe: in exchange for raw materials, they were to supply Ghana with the needed imported goods on a 180-day credit basis at fantastically high rates of interest. With these desperate economic measures, Nkrumah and his government only aggravated the already grave situation which was in its turn to bring about their own downfall.

In the field of agriculture too, Nkrumah's activities had come to the same disastrous end by 1965. Most of those farms formed under the State Farms Corporation failed completely and the Workers Brigade could not produce enough to feed themselves, let alone the nation. Indeed, both the State Farms Corporation employing 30 000 workers and the Workers' Brigade with over 25 000 on its pay roll became nothing but the means of rewarding party members and fanatics with employment at fat salaries. The failure of these state organizations, coupled with the lack of spare parts for agricultural machinery brought about acute food shortages and an attendant rise in prices.

By the end of 1965, a single tuber of yam was costing as much as 70 or 80 pesewas while a single finger of plantain cost 8 or 10 pesewas in Accra. By the time of the coup, both imported foodstuffs such as rice, and locally produced foodstuffs such as plantain yams and even cassava were in very short supply and their prices had therefore become astronomical. Here again, Ghanaians desperately needed relief.

Finally, the Volta River Project, which was by any standards an impressive achievement technically, diplomatically and financially, did not turn out to be of

any great benefit to Ghana. Three aspects of the project which would have meant so much to Ghanaians were the mining of local bauxite and its conversion into alumina, the use of water from the Volta Lake to irrigate the Accra plains, and rural electrification. But all these aspects of the Volta River Project which would have helped to relieve unemployment, or solved the agricultural and balance of payment problems and brought comfort and relief to the rural population, were never implemented. Not even the people of the Volta region benefited from the hydro-electric power for which they had made such enormous sacrifices.

In the social field, the outcome of Nkrumah's activities was no less disastrous. Here, as in the economic field, much was accomplished on a superficial level. Education remained free at the primary and tertiary levels. Textbooks were also supplied free to all pupils in the primary and middle schools. In the 1964-5 school year, there were 9,988 primary and middle schools with an enrolment of 1,286,486 pupils, 89 secondary schools with 32,971 pupils, 47 teacher training colleges with 10,168 students and 11 technical schools.

Both the University Colleges of Legon and Kumasi became full universities in 1961 while a new University College was established at Cape Coast. However, these impressive achievements were marred by the disastrous drop in the standard of education at elementary and secondary levels in the country. This was primarily because the expansion of the elementary school system was not matched by that of the teacher training college system, and so untrained teachers had to be used. Moreover, though impressive in theory, the free textbook system never worked effectively in practice: the books were often of poor quality and inadequate numbers were supplied so children could not take their textbooks home.

The education provided in the new schools remained very literary, as it had been in the colonial days, and not much attention was paid to agricultural and technical education, which was so necessary for the changing economic conditions in independent Ghana. The expansion of the secondary school system did not

anywhere match that of the elementary school system, and the result was University that many primary school leavers could not gain admission into secondary schools but merely drifted into the towns where they became unemployed.

While all these factors served only to discredit the apparent boom in school education, university life was also affected. Nkrumah tampered with academic freedom and interfered actively in the affairs of the universities, he personally ordered some lecturers to be made professors and heads of departments, and expelled some expatriate lecturers while he even detained one Ghanaian professor, Professor J.C. de Graft Johnson. The general effect of such interference was the lowering of morale, the exodus of both Ghanaian and expatriate university lecturers and professors and the creation of an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty which severely stunted academic productivity

In the **field of health**, Nkrumah continued to expand facilities. But from about 1964 onwards, all hospitals and health centres faced an acute shortage of basic drugs and even X-ray films. There were instances where people died on the operating table because antibiotics were in short supply, and a nationwide panic' once broke loose when supplies of anti-snake bite serum completely ran out throughout the country.

One other aspect of Nkrumah's activities in the social field should be touched on here and this was the founding of the Ghana Young Pioneers. Established to train the youth of Ghana and as a substitute for the Boy Scout Movement which was described as imperialist and neo-colonialist, the Young Pioneer Movement soon degenerated into an organization for the hero-worship of Nkrumah with such slogans as 'Nkrumah will never die', Nkrumah is our Messiah', 'If you follow him he will make you fishers of men'. Young members of this organization were recruited to spy on their parents and teachers. This indoctrination only alienated parents, religious leaders. Headmasters who were

forced to open branches in their schools or face dismissal, and genuine youth leaders. By 1965, the YPM had aroused more private opposition to Nkrumah and his regime than possibly any other of his quixotic activities.

The ultimate reason for Nkrumah's overthrow was that by 1965 he had alienated not only all classes of private Ghanaian citizens but also the police and the armed forces. Nkrumah alienated the police when, after the unsuccessful attempt on his life in January 1964, in the Flagstaff House by Ametewee, a police constable, he not only disarmed the police, but he also detained the two heads of police, Madjitey and Amaning and dismissed all the regional police heads.

By 1965 the armed forces were feeling not only humiliated but also neglected and threatened. These feelings began in 1962 when, following the Kulungugu episode, Nkrumah started to expand the Presidential Company into a well-equipped battalion under Russian officers and as part of the Presidential Detail Department set up in 1963. Indeed, by 1965, whereas Nkrumah's private army was well dressed and well equipped with modern weapons and with control over secret military camps at Elmina Castle, Akosombo, Afienya and Okponglo, the regular armed forces were going about in 'tattered uniforms, often without boots on their feet, and with rickety equipment and vehicles'.

By then, as Major-General Ocran has pointed out, the regular army had realized that there was no hope that they would 'obtain replacement of their stores and equipment, and that Nkrumah's 'obvious intention was that this army would die off in the course of time and be replaced by the President's Guard Regiment, which had originally been formed out of existing units, without arousing suspicion as a ceremonial company'. The fears of the armed forces reached culmination towards the end of 1965 when both Ankrah and Otu, their most senior officers, were asked to retire and above all when Nkrumah alerted the army for the offensive operations in Rhodesia following the unilateral declaration of independence.

As Afrifa, one of the architects of the coup put it: "The dismissal of our Generals by Kwame Nkrumah was one of the major factors that led to the coup of 24 February. As a result of this action the Ghanaian officers and men felt that the profession of men-of-arms had been disgraced and that their Generals as well as they had been humiliated. And on the prospective action in Rhodesia, he wrote: ...From concern for my troops, I felt it would be criminal and purposeless to lead such an army of excellent soldiers ill-equipped to fight in an unnecessary war. Among our troops, Nkrumah became unpopular because of this. They realized that he was sending them to war without proper equipment and without adequate preparation. The moment they started complaining I knew that the days of the CPP were numbered'.

While the situation was moving towards its inevitable conclusion at home, foreign attitudes to Nkrumah were also changing. After 1960, Nkrumah devoted much time and money to assisting the struggle for independence in Africa. He continued to advocate African unity and the formation of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa in May 1963 out of the two rival African groups, the Monrovia Group and the Casablanca Group, was due mainly to his strong belief in and powerful advocacy of African unity. But he blundered in this field also.

In his anxiety to convert the OAU into a true union government with himself as President, he resorted to all sorts of means including assassination, bribery, subversion, even coups d'état and military action to achieve his ends. Though some of his closest associates deny this, it is generally believed, for instance, that Nkrumah had a hand in the coup in Togo which resulted in the death of Olympio as well as in the first coup in Nigeria.

It is common knowledge that he poured thousands of pounds into East Africa to prevent the formation of the East African Federation. Thus, again by 1965, Nkrumah had become increasingly unpopular with most African heads of state, while he was not on speaking terms with any of the hands of the states immediately bordering on Ghana. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the OAU

conference in Accra nearly did not take place at all. It is indeed one of the remarkable paradoxes of history that by 1965, Nkrumah, the greatest advocate of African unity, had become the greatest impediment to its realization.

UNIT 3

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL AND THE RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE

In the midst of this diplomatic isolation, conditions in Ghana were revealing two basic political alternatives: either the assassination of Nkrumah or a coup d'état. And it was only after many attempts on his life between 1961 and 1964 had failed that the second alternative was resorted to on 24 February 1966.

Shortly before 6.00 a.m. on that day, a strange voice asked Radio Ghana's listeners to stay by their radios for an important announcement. At 6.00 a.m. another voice made the following announcement:

Fellow Ghanaians, I have come to inform you that the Military, in co-operation with the Ghana Police, have taken over the government of Ghana today. The myth surrounding Nkrumah has been broken. Parliament is dissolved and Kwame Nkrumah is dismissed from office. All Ministers are also dismissed. The Convention People's Party is disbanded with effect from now. It will be illegal for any person to belong to it. We appeal to you to be calm and co-operative. All persons in detention will be released in due course. Please stay by your radios and await further details

The first voice was that of Major A. A. Afrifa, and the second that of Colonel E.K. Kotoka, the two architects of the coup d'état. The second announcement was the first official information given to the Ghanaian public about the coup d'état which had just been staged. This announcement found a joyous welcome among the people of Ghana and it was greeted with untold excitement and jubilation. The air was filled with spontaneous cheering and was heavy with white powder, the traditional sign of victory and success. Massive demonstrations and huge placards condemning the fallen ruler bore eloquent testimony to the mood of a grateful and liberated nation. By noon, the drinking bars, hotels and motels were packed to

capacity with jubilant young men and women in a mood of Coup Day festivity. Never has so short an announcement been accorded such a reception in Ghana.

By irony of fate, Kwame Nkrumah was out of the country on a mission of peace to Vietnam when the coup took place. News of his overthrow reached him in Peking where he had stopped route for Vietnam. Naturally he at first flatly refused to believe it. He is reported to have said that the country involved should be Guinea and not Ghana. Later, however, he accepted the news, cut short his trip to Vietnam and went first to Moscow and from there to Conakry in Guinea where he was accorded a hero's welcome by President Sekou Toure who proclaimed him co-President. Nkrumah continued to live in Conakry where he spent the first year broadcasting appeals to the people of Ghana to rebel against the military. After these fruitless efforts, he settled down to learning French, writing books and cultivating roses, one of his favourite pastimes. While in Conakry, he began to suffer from a form of cancer and he was flown to Bucharest in Rumania for treatment. But the disease had reached too advanced a stage to be curable and he died there on 27 April, 1972. His body was flown first to Guinea where he was given a state burial. However, after repeated negotiations between the governments of Guinea and the currently ruling National Redemption Council of Ghana, Nkrumah's body was returned Ghana. He was first laid in state in the State House, Accra, and then given another state burial at Nkroful, his place of birth, in accordance with his own wishes.

NLC ACHIEVEMENTS

In the social field also the NLC's endeavours were commendable.

The *National Relief Committee* set up soon after the coup distributed food and clothing to ex detainees and endeavoured to rehabilitate them. On 18 April the NLC appointed a 22-man Committee to carry out a comprehensive review of the educational system from elementary to university level. An inspection of private schools was carried out with a view to closing down those that were substandard.

Attempts were also made to standardize fees chargeable in private educational institutions. Boarding fees were not to exceed NC41.60 a term while fees for day students were not to exceed NC10.00 a term. The principle was also established that scholarships were to be rewarded for merit and not for political sycophancy. In keeping with this principle, bursary awards for 877 Ghanaian students in the United Kingdom and United States were withdrawn in October 1966.

To arrest the deteriorating standards of behaviour in business and social life in the country, a *National Courtesy Campaign Committee* was inaugurated at the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development in October 1966. The conviction and imprisonment of a highly placed civil servant for bribery and corruption, a rare occurrence under the old regime, augured well for the promotion of social justice in Ghana.

To help Ghanaians, both literate and illiterate, to understand and appreciate their rights and responsibilities as citizens, the *Centre for Civil Education* was inaugurated with Dr K.A. Busin as National Chairman. The Centre organized open lectures throughout the country with the aim of instilling into Ghanaians the ideals of public service, probity, tolerance, forgiveness and self-help.

In political and diplomatic spheres also, the NLC's record of achievement was impressive externally, one of the first moves of the NLC was to *normalize relations between Ghana and her neighbours* soon after assuming the reins of power. During March and April of 1966 special goodwill missions under the late Sir Arku Korsah, the late Justice Van Lare and Mr. Edward Akuffo Addo visited first, East and West African states and then almost all the North African states. As proof of the sincerity of their intentions, *the NLC expelled from Ghana any subversive elements from independent African states who had been living here under Nkrumah's protection*, genuine political refugees were, however, allowed to stay subject to their compliance with OAU resolutions on political refugees. The

NLC also reaffirmed Ghana's commitment to nonalignment and pledged support for the OAU and the UNO.

Internally, the very first political act was the *release of all detainees from detention*, and no act brought greater joy and jubilation than this. The Council next turned to the problems of how to *promote stability and national reconciliation*. In his broadcast on Monday, 28 February 1966, the Chairman of the NLC guaranteed the public service, the judiciary, the armed forces, the police service, prison services, focal government service, statutory boards and corporations and the Universities against unnecessary interference. The institution of chieftaincy was also guaranteed, and chiefs destooled for their opposition to the CPP were restored later in the year. An appeal was made to political exiles to return home and assist in the task of national reconstruction.

To prevent unnecessary vengeance and promote national reconciliation, the NLC warned all heads of government departments, corporations, semi-government departments and city, municipal or urban councils against dismissing any of their regular staff members without the approval of the NLC. Complete freedom of speech and of the press was also guaranteed and independent papers such as the Legon Observer and the Evening Standard were allowed to operate in the country.

In the very first speeches after the coup, the Chairman of the NLC declared its readiness to return the country to civilian rule as soon as possible. In a statement issued on 26 February, two days after the coup, the Council made it clear that they have no political ambitions and are anxious to hand over to a duly constituted representative civil government as soon as possible.

The Council remained true to their word and took the first positive step in the direction of the return to civilian rule on 1 September 1966 by *appointing a sixteen-member constitutional commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Akufo Addo, then the Chief Justice of the country*, to draft a constitution

for the country. On 2 December 1966 the commission held its inaugural meeting at Parliament, House. Shortly after that it proceeded to tour the country, to receive memoranda, to hear evidence and prepare a comprehensive draft constitution.

The second step was the *setting up of another sixteen-man commission under the chairmanship of Mr. J.B. Siriboe to make recommendations on electoral procedure for electing a new National Assembly*. The Siriboe Commission recommended among other things the setting up of an electoral commission to be responsible for the conduct of elections.

This commission was to be independent of the central government in order to be able to operate Edward Akuffo-Addo impartially. Following the commission's recommendations, the NLC set up a *permanent electoral commission with Mr. Justice V.C. Crabbe as interim electoral commissioner*. The electoral commission soon started work by registering eligible voters throughout Ghana

The third step was the *appointment of seventeen commissioners, of whom fourteen were civilians, to head the various ministries and exercise functions formerly performed by Ministers*. These civilian commissioners took office on 3 July 1967. The seventeen commissioners together with the other members of the NLC were constituted into the Executive Council. The Executive Council was made responsible for the general direction and control of the government of Ghana. Next the NLC appointed a National Advisory Committee to act as the highest advisory body to the government. It coordinated policy and made proposals for presentation to the NLC.

Finally, towards the end of 1968 the *NLC entrusted a 150member Constituent Assembly with the task of discussing the draft constitution submitted by the constitutional commission and preparing a final constitution for the Second Republic of Ghana*. On 30 December members of the partly elected Constituent Assembly were sworn in, and on 6 January 1969, the Assembly was formally

for the country. On 2 December 1966 the commission held its inaugural meeting at parliament, House. Shortly after that it proceeded to tour the country, to receive memoranda, to hear evidence and prepare a comprehensive draft constitution.

The second step was the *setting up of another sixteen-man commission under the chairmanship of Mr. J.B. Siriboe to make recommendations on electoral procedure for electing a new National Assembly*. The Siriboe Commission recommended among other things the setting up of an electoral commission to be responsible for the conduct of elections.

This commission was to be independent of the central government in order to be able to operate Edward Akuffo-Addo impartially. Following the commission's recommendations, the NLC set up a *permanent electoral commission with Mr. Justice V.C. Crabbe as interim electoral commissioner*. The electoral commission soon started work by registering eligible voters throughout Ghana

The third step was the *appointment of seventeen commissioners, of whom fourteen were civilians, to head the various ministries and exercise functions formerly performed by Ministers*. These civilian commissioners took office on 3 July 1967. The seventeen commissioners together with the other members of the NLC were constituted into the Executive Council. The Executive Council was made responsible for the general direction and control of the government of Ghana. Next the NLC appointed a National Advisory Committee to act as the highest advisory body to the government. It coordinated policy and made proposals for presentation to the NLC.

Finally, towards the end of 1968 the *NLC entrusted a 150member Constituent Assembly with the task of discussing the draft constitution submitted by the constitutional commission and preparing a final constitution for the Second Republic of Ghana*. On 30 December members of the partly elected Constituent Assembly were sworn in, and on 6 January 1969, the Assembly was formally

inaugurated by the Chairman of the NLC, Lieutenant General J.A. Ankrah Mr. R.S. Blay, and a retired Supreme Court Judge, was elected Speaker with Nene Azu Mato Kole, Konor of Manya Krobo, as Deputy Speaker. After a considerable number of sittings, lasting about seven months, the Constituent Assembly enacted and promulgated the country's new constitution on 22 August 1969

On 8 April, while the Constituent Assembly was still in session, Brigadier Afrifa took over the chairmanship of the NLC from Lieutenant General J.A. Ankrah who had resigned in circumstances to be discussed below. *Only a month later in May 1969, the NLC lifted the ban on political activities*, announced 29 August as the date for the general elections and 1 October 1969 as the date for the return to civilian rule and this timetable was followed with military precision.

Economically therefore, the country had by 1969 been saved from total economic collapse, the external debts had been rescheduled, essential goods and commodities were once more in good supply, the inflationary pressures had been considerably reduced and a great deal of attention was being paid to the development of the rural areas. Politically and socially, an atmosphere of security and individual liberty and the rule of law had been established, fears of arbitrary detention had disappeared and true freedom of the press had been restored. Externally, the NLC had succeeded in establishing very friendly relations with Ghana's immediate neighbours in particular, and with most African states in general, while her voice was beginning to be taken seriously once more in international circles. However, while every Ghanaian knew that the country would be returned to civilian rule, no one expected that the NLC would decide to hand over to civilian government at the time it did, that is, in September 1969.

Reasons why NLC handed power to civilian rule

1. The *first was pressure by ambitious politicians and the educated elite*. This pressure started in fact only a few months after the coup, and it arose from the conviction of these people that the military were incapable of coping with the

stupendous political and economic problems facing the country. Secondly, there was the belief that if the Army stayed in power for too long, divisions would appear among them which might lead to counter-coups.

2. This latter fear was realized in *the unsuccessful counter-coup* which was organized by two young lieutenants with a platoon of about 120 soldiers stationed at Ho in April 1967. This abortive attempt affected the subsequent course of events in two ways, first, it drove home the point being made by some of the politicians that military regimes are in themselves unstable, and thereby strengthened the demand for a return to civilian rule. Secondly, and more decisively and more tragically still, though the counter-coup was foiled, it did result in the capture and murder of the main architect of the 1966 coup. General Kotoka. Since he was the main link in the NLC between the military and the police members and therefore the principal stabilizing force, his death greatly weakened solidarity within the NLC and led to the steady estrangement of the police and military groups, which in turn made a return to civilian rule all the more necessary. The third factor was the negative outcome of some of the economic policies of the NLC. There no doubt that during their regime, the unemployment situation grew much worse because of the negative policy of retrenching redundant labour in the corporations and ministries and slowing down development. The devaluation of the cedi led to a great increase in the cost of imported goods and this made the NLC quite unpopular.
3. Furthermore, there *was no perceptible change in the cost of even locally produced goods, since the cost of basic foodstuffs such as plantain, yams and kenkey remained* high. Though some of these negative economic policies pursued by the NLC were the outcome of the critical balance of payment problems and the crippling national debt, the ordinary man hi the street could not appreciate them, while many good economists were convinced that the devaluation of the cedi was a blunder. At the same tune there was considerable bitterness over the fact that the NLC never repudiated the huge debts incurred

by Nkrumah's regime. All these failures in the economic field, which grew more apparent with the years, convinced many people that the military regime was indeed incapable of coping with the economic problems of the country and therefore that the earlier the soldiers returned to their barracks the better.

4. The fourth factor and one of the most immediate reasons for the return to Civilian rule was the *resignation of Major-General Ankrah*, on 2 March 1969 as chairman of the NLC. His resignation was precipitated by the discovery by the other members of the NLC that Ankrah had been collecting sums of money from some foreign firms and companies to organize a political party of his own. This accusation, to which the Major-General confessed, in the first place convinced Ghanaians that the military were after all also not above corruption. In any case, Ankrah's action cost the NLC a great deal of the moral standing that they were enjoying in the country, Ankrah's resignation also led to the assumption of the chairmanship of the NLC by Brigadier A. A. Afrifa and there is no doubt that this was the final factor in the decision to return the country to civilian rule on 1 October 1969. Afrifa had been known to have been pressing for a handover to civilians since 1968, on the grounds, as he once publicly proclaimed, that 'the revolution had lost its momentum'. There is no doubt that immediately on his assumption of the new office, he urged his view on his colleagues. Demoralized and disillusioned by Ankrah's action, his colleagues must have become more ready than before to accept his views. It is rather significant that it was only one month after becoming the chairman of the NLC that Afrifa announced the lifting of the ban on party political activities and fixed the dates for a general election and the return to a civilian government.

UNIT 4

GHANA UNDER BUSIA

The Second Republic was inaugurated at the Independence Square on October 1, 1969 with Dr. K. A. Busia as the Prime Minister and Mr. Edward Akufo Addo as the ceremonial President. In his inaugural address, Busia said, "We think the yardstick by which our success or failure should be judged must be the condition of the human being himself. We must judge our progress by the quality of the individual, by his knowledge, his skills, his behaviour as a member of society, the standards of living he is able to enjoy and by the degree of co-operation, harmony and brotherliness in our community life as a nation our goal is to enable every man and woman in our country to live a life of dignity in freedom'.

Achievements:

1. Busia made **rural development a priority area**. To ensure the success of this policy, a separate ministry – Ministry of Social and Rural Development (the first of its kind in Ghana) was established. A number of projects were launched to provide good drinking water, electricity and health facilities for rural communities. By 1972, a total of thirty-three projects, including one which was to make potable water available to twenty villages in the Apam area had been completed. Water project at Kwanyako near Agona Swedru and was to serve more than 44,000 inhabitants in twenty-two villages and towns in the Gomoa Akyempim area. Other areas which enjoyed the supply of pipe-borne water were Avoeme, Papase, Prampram, Danfa and Pantang. The Barekese Dam was started. The project was to supply water for over one million people in the Greater Kumasi area and over 72 sub-urban towns and villages within 20 miles radius of Kumasi. Under the Rural Electrification Scheme, a total of fifty-eight towns and villages were connected to the national grid. Some of the towns which now enjoyed power from Akosombo were Nsuta, Biriwa, Kade, Suhum, and Somanya.

2. The health needs of the rural folks were of prime importance to Busia and, therefore, he sought to improve the health sector. In 1970, the Danfa Project (which among others, was to train traditional midwives in hygienic delivery) was established. The Eastern Region Cocoa Project which was meant to rehabilitate the industry in the region was launched by the Prime Minister in January 1971.
3. Busia also established very good relationship with several developed countries. Not only did he travel to negotiate for more favourable terms of debt repayment with creditor nations in Europe and America, and to seek further aid to break the cycle of debt and deficit financing to deal with the balance of payments problems, but his high powered international contacts culminated in the signing of a joint Ghanaian-British enterprise to establish a lime factory at Anomabo. The factory was to give employment to about 1000 people in the area. Besides, a team of Canadian experts was invited into the country to carry out feasibility studies on agriculture and water development programmes in the Upper Region. This was completed in 1971 and in January 1972 a loan of 59 million dollars from the Canadian government was approved for the project.
4. To ensure greater participation by Ghanaians in the economic advancement of the country, the **National Small Business Loans Scheme** was approved by **Parliament in 1970 to provide direct credit to the stratum of small scale Ghanaian traders and artisans**. A Credit Guarantee Scheme was also established by the Bank of Ghana to guarantee loans to small scale businessmen engaged in organised business concerns. This was administered by the Ghana Commercial Bank. The last was embodied in the Ghanaian Business (Promotion) Act, 1970 (Act 323).

5. On labour related issues Busia's administration enacted the Industrial Relations Act 1971 not only to ensure that labour laws were in conformity with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention but that, workers' union would be more democratic and free from undue central government interference and control.
6. One-Year Development Plan of 1970 – 1971 included measures to strengthen secondary education by increasing the number of places in Form 1 and Sixth Form. The training of middle-level personnel was also looked at. Existing polytechnics were therefore expanded and the courses they offered were diversified. A number of Continuation Schools were also established at the first cycle level of education. Here, the idea was to reduce systematically, the number of years one has to spend in school without sacrificing the quality of education offered and provide skills to serve as a basis for self-reliance for its graduates. The PP government also carried out several construction works in the education sector. Among these were a library block, science block, staff bungalows at Amaniampong Secondary School, Mampong-Ashanti, a five unit classroom block and one science block for the New Drobo Secondary School and a dormitory for Atebubu Training College both in the Brong-Ahafo region.
7. On higher education, the National Council for Higher Education was established in 1969 to advise on staff recruitment, conditions and the financial needs of such institutions. In the same year, the Universities Visitation Committee studied the financial situation in the universities and made recommendations for adoption by government later.
8. Being a democrat, Busia saw to the observance of **Fundamental Human Rights as enshrined in the UN Charter**. Under his administration, no one was arbitrarily arrested or detained on any spurious reasons or tortured under any pretext. There was freedom of the press, association, religion and speech.

The independence of the judiciary was guaranteed and the Opposition in and outside parliament had the freedom to criticize the government without any fear of intimidation or arrest by the security agents.

9. Busia's government also created the **National Service Corps** to serve as a unit where young men and women from the country's universities and other institutions of higher learning would place their services at the disposal of the country for community self-help and other projects. The Corps, together with the Voluntary Work Camps Association and the Ghana Youth Council carried out a number of projects including construction works and farming.

THE FALL OF BUSIA

POLITICAL

One area which made the government of Busia unpopular was his disregard for a Constitutional Provision making it obligatory for him and his ministers to declare their assets. Twenty six (26) months after coming into office, most of the Ministers had not complied with this provision. This was of course not acceptable to many Ghanaians, more especially, as it was coming from a government which was committed to work within the framework of the Constitution. Besides, Article 61 (4) of the 1969 Constitution provided that no Minister of State, while in office was to hold any other office of profit or emolument, whether public or private and either directly or indirectly. In November 1971, however, it came to light through the pages of The Spokesman Newspaper that J. H. Mensah, the Minister of Finance, was the Director of Odumasi Farms Ltd. which was in contravention of the Constitution. The Minority in Parliament tabled a censure motion calling on J.H. Mensah to resign for his flagrant disregard for the Constitution; yet, Busia's government opposed this move by a vote of 81 votes to 24. This made people to harbour the idea that the government had something up its sleeves.

In line with Article 9 of the Transitional Provisions of the Constitution, the government summarily dismissed 568 public servants for corruption, ineptitude

and inefficiency in what became known as “Apollo 568”. Not only did the exercise cause a stir among the populace, but as a Western trained democrat, the Prime Minister shocked some of his supporters with his radio and TV broadcast on the night of 20 April, 1970 in reaction to the Supreme Court ruling in the case, Sallah v. Attorney-General. E. K. Sallah, one of the victims of “Apollo 568” challenged the legality of his dismissal at the Appeals Court presided over by Mr. Justice Apaloo and had judgment given in his favour.

Making reference to what he had read from annotation of cases decided by the US Supreme Court (reference was made to a case: Decatur v. Paulding) Busia made it emphatically clear that ‘No court can enforce any decision that seeks to compel the Government to employ anyone’. Though this view was legally admissible, it whipped up opposition against the Administration as Busia’s political opponents claimed it was an affront to the judiciary and dangerous to democratic principles under which the rights of the individual were firmly guaranteed. Moreover, coming from a government that had sprung out of people who had condemned the treatment Nkrumah had meted out against the judiciary in the Adomako-Akro Adjei-Crabbe treason trial, it was a pronouncement the public least expected.

The removal from office of the editor of the Daily Graphic for being critical of Busia’s stance on the then Apartheid Regime in South Africa was seen as an attempt to stifle press freedom, which in itself, was against the very Constitution which Busia had sworn to uphold and defend. This drew condemnation from the press and a lot of well-meaning Ghanaians. The PP government also failed to establish a Press Trust though it was widely accepted that this was a basic prerequisite of press freedom in Ghana. Busia’s policy of dialogue with the then Apartheid South Africa did not find favour with many Ghanaians and some African states. The PP government’s stance stood in sharp contrast to the country’s earlier position and that of some African countries on apartheid. He thus attracted criticism from the home front and among some African states. However, later

political developments which led to the peaceful abolition of apartheid through all-race elections in South Africa on 27 April, 1994 showed Busia's vision as a statesman who was not only committed to peace but that his political thinking put him streets ahead of his critics.

SOCIAL

The introduction of the Student Loans Scheme Act of 1971 under which university students were required to, for the first time, contribute to "maintenance charges" whereas the government took care of tuition had a negative image on the government. The scheme came under sharp criticism from both students and parents who felt it was a total deviation from Nkrumah's fee-free education policy. Some also argued that the scheme was a ploy by government to shirk its responsibility of educating the country's citizens at that level. Moreover, it was not good enough for new graduates to be burdened with debt servicing from the start of their working lives. The result of these criticisms was that the PP became unpopular as both parents and students withdrew their support.

The imposition of the National Development Levy on workers when they were already suffering led to confrontation between the labour movement and government." This situation came to a head when the government on September 10, 1971 passed the Industrial Relations (Amendment Act, 1971, (Act. 383) to dissolve the TUC as the central organ of the labour movement. The seventeen (17) unions which constituted the TUC met on the same day to reconstitute the TUC under its old leadership and with the support of the NUGS (allies of the TUC) which issued a strongly-worded statement to condemn the government, the working class became more defiant and confrontational. This development led to the perception among workers that the PP government was "anti-worker" and therefore an implacable foe which ought to be removed before it imposed more hardships on workers.

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In performing their duties in the wake of the Aliens Compliance Order of 1969 the police went to extremes as they carried out the order in an inhumane manner. This led to loss of lives and properties. The Order thus attracted sharp criticism and statements of condemnation from neighbouring states like Togo, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) and Nigeria whose nationals were mostly affected. Locally, the aliens won the sympathy of Ghanaians as they attacked the government for not restraining the police from the excesses. Busia's popularity no doubt suffered a jolt by this Order despite its good intentions.

ECONOMIC

On December 27, 1971, the cedi was devalued by 43.8 per cent against the US\$ to, as explained, "restore balance to the economy, control inflation, stimulate new investments and boost industrial production." However, this policy came with economic hardships to consumers and especially to workers in the private sector. Production levels in industries started to decline, affecting in the process, employment and wages. For instance, labour strength dropped from 109.6 thousand to 101.1 thousand. These developments added to the sharp increases in the prices of basic consumer goods and services. To reduce the growing production costs, employers had to lay-off some of their workers with its attendant social problems.

Also, the government imposed an unofficial wage freeze. Wages therefore lagged behind inflation. For example, wage earnings went up by only 4.5% on the 1970 level while the consumer price index shot up to over 90.0% after a brief respite in 1970. This made the working class, mostly in the private sector, clamor for a new government which, in their estimation, would do better despite the fact that the Prime Minister had been forthright in presenting the realities of the state of the economy in a nation-wide radio and TV broadcast on New Year's Eve, 1971.

The PP government was also accused of corruption and what was seen as opulent life-styles by members of government in the face of economic hardships among the

mass of the people. In fact, some members of the administration were seen driving, in the estimation of some members of the public, flashy cars and working in plushy offices, a situation which was considered unacceptable.

The 10 per cent cut in the defense budget in 1971 and the subsequent cancellation of some benefits enjoyed by the military won enmity for the government among the military as the leader of the coup d'etat that overthrew him, Colonel I.K. Acheampong, complained that Busia's government started taking from the Armed Forces "...the few amenities and facilities they enjoyed even under the Nkrumah regime". This, Acheampong claimed, affected the morale of the Armed Forces, "to the extent that officers could not exert any meaningful influence over their men". By all consideration however, it could be judged from later developments that the coup was staged to serve the selfish interests of Acheampong and the conspirators as the cut in the defense budget for the military was not cited as having significantly affected the operations of the Ghana Army. More importantly, the fact that Acheampong was believed to have stated that he started planning the coup only six (6) months after Busia had assumed office is an indication that he tried to rationalise an unjustifiable act.

UNIT 5

THE RETURN OF THE MILITARY THE NATIONAL REDEMPTION COUNCIL (NRC)/SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL (SMC I): 1972 – 1978

Ghana's second attempt at democratic administration suffered a set-back when Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, then Commander of the Fifth Battalion staged a successful coup d'état to oust Busia's government on 13 January, 1972. A military junta – the National Redemption Council, NRC was formed with Lt. Colonel Acheampong as Head of State and Chairman. Members of the Council were: Major A.H. Selormey, Major Kwame Baah, E. N. Moore as Attorney General, Major K. B. Agbo, Brigadier N.Y.R Ashley – Larsen, Commodore P.F. Quaye -Navy Commander, Brigadier C. Beausoliel Air Force Commander, Major R. J. A. Felli, Colonel E.A. Erskine – Army Commander, Lt. Col. C. D. Benni, Colonel J.C. Adjeitey and J.H. Cobbina, IGP.

The justification General I. K. Acheampong presented by the newly constituted NRC focused on three main issues: first, the deteriorating state of the economy, and particularly, the negative repercussions of the devaluation of the cedi; the alleged corruption of the Busia regime and third, their (ousted government's) inability to show any understanding for the conditions of the common man. At his first press conference, Colonel Acheampong did not only deplore the previous government's lack of will to act decisively on this (economic) crisis, but further attacked the system that exploited the ordinary people, the workers and the farmers on whose sweat and toil the wheel of the economy turns.

Achievements:

1. The 1971 budget was revised in accordance with the priorities which the NRC wanted to follow for the rest of the 1971/72 fiscal year. The revision laid strong emphasis on agriculture and the provision of social amenities for the people. In

this direction, as a first phase of an agricultural revolution, the government launched the **“Operation Feed Yourself” – OFY** programme.

The programme caught on quite well with Ghanaians as backyard gardening began to attract the attention of even the urban dweller and all categories of people: housewives, professionals such as teachers, doctors, lawyers and high level public servants were all seen tilling the land and growing basic food items such as vegetables. Liberal government loans were given to encourage farming.

Agriculture, including livestock, registered a growth rate of 4.5 percent in 1972, 6 percent in 1973 and 7 percent in 1974. A fair assessment of the programme revealed remarkable success as in the 1974-75 seasons alone, 401,528 bags of rice were purchased from farmers by government rice mills. In fact, by 1975, there was hardly any food importation into the country. To accelerate development in the regions, a Regional Development Corporation was set up in each region in 1973 with an initial allocation of £800,000 for the ensuing three years to promote agriculture, industry and commercial businesses in the regions.

2. In 1975 the government launched the phase two of its programme **“Operation Feed Your Industries” – OFYI**, as a follow-up to the OFY. The emphasis was to produce selected industrial and cash crops such as rubber, sugarcane, cotton, groundnut, cashew etc. for export. Cotton was given particular attention as the producer price was raised from 20 to 70 pesewas per kilogram. The Cotton Development Board on its part received £4 million for expansion.

To further boost production, the government undertook to supply farmers with improved seeds and seedlings, fertilizers and insecticide. Expert agricultural advice was given free of charge. The Agricultural Development Bank was

injected with more money to enable it give loans to industrious and needy farmers.

In a bid to sustain the agricultural policy against the vagaries of the weather, various irrigation projects were launched by the NRC. On the 27 March, 1975, sod cutting was done to start work on a £5.7 million Tono Irrigation Project in the Upper Region. The Dawhenya Irrigation Project, the Okyereko Irrigation Project and the Nkrontrodu (near Elmina), were also started. The projects in the Central Region were to help the region cultivate over 1,500 acres of rice when fully operational.

To cushion the hardships facing the masses as a result of the devaluation of the cedi by Busia, the cedi was revalued by 42.0 per cent. Surcharges on imports were removed, and farmers were rewarded with an increase in the producer price of cocoa. Workers also had the benefit of the repeal of the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Act, 1971 (Act 383); an increment in the minimum wage and the abolition of the National Development Levy.

All future redundancy exercises that had been planned by private enterprises were stopped. To further alleviate the hardships of the working class and the populace in general, £65.5 million was voted for the importation of foreign food items in 1972 and an additional £30 million by May 1973. Car maintenance allowance and other perquisites for top civil service personnel which had been either reduced or abolished by the PP government were fully restored. University students were also satisfied when by a 1973 Decree – (The Student Loans Scheme Decree NRCD 142) was abolished.

Projects of no immediate economic value were suspended thereby saving for the country, an amount of £14.9 million. Only feeder roads that would ease foodstuff conveyance and help combat smuggling were to be

constructed. An amount of £65.4 million was saved on the capital budget through the banning of the importation of luxury cars.

3. The NRC also announced on February 5, 1972, the repudiation of about \$94.4 million of loans incurred since February 24, 1966 as such contracts were "vitiating by and tainted with corruption, fraud or other illegality". Some of the loans had repayment arrangement unilaterally rescheduled. The government also reviewed Suppliers' Credits entered into before February 1966 and accepted to enter into arbitration in respect of the debt repudiation at the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes, Washington D.C., USA. It however, accepted to pay debts contracted on import credits, 180-day credits, liabilities of service payments and long-term debts arising from long-term loans and credits granted by the World Bank, International Development Association, the US government and other donor nations. By re-negotiating the country's foreign debt, some sort of respite was gained with respect to debt servicing and other financial commitments of the country.
4. The government also established the outlines of a plan to expropriate foreign holdings and prepared to indigenize most enterprises. By decrees such as the Timber Operations (Government Participation) Decree, 1972 (NRDC 139), and the Mining Operations (Government Participation) Decree, 1972 (NRCD 132), the government acquired majority shares (55.0 percent) in all the foreign mining and timber companies. The Ashanti Goldfields Corporation -AGC, Consolidated African Selection Trust - CAST, and the Ghana Bauxite Company were affected by this state participation exercise while the African Manganese Company, the subsidiary of Union Carbide (USA) at Nsuta, was entirely taken over by the government under the new name of National Manganese Corporation. Under the timber decree, government acquired majority shares in such companies as Glicksten (WA) Ltd., and African timber and Plywood Company.

5. Participation was also opened in all major foreign owned commercial, banking and industrial establishments not only to government but to local capitalists as well. Thus for example, at least 40.0 per cent equity shares in such major multinational commercial and banking institutions as Mobil, Texaco, BP, UAC, UTC, Barclays Bank and Standard Bank were acquired by the state. In others, Ghanaian shares were fixed at 55.0 per cent to 40.0 percent for the state and 15.0 per cent for Ghanaian capitalists. Ghanaians were entitled to 50.0 per cent of equity shares. Among these were Ghana Rubber Products, Ghana Plastic Industry Ltd., Fabric Knitting and Dyeing Industries Ltd., and M. Captain. By Section 13(5) of the Ghanaian Enterprises Development Decree, 1975 (NRDC 330), workers were given the legal basis to participate in enterprises which were to "go public" under NRCD 329.
6. Acheampong also embarked upon the provision of houses for the people. Under the "Low-Cost Housing Scheme", the State Construction Corporation had by 1973 completed a number of housing projects. At the end of the phase one of this project, a number of houses were completed. These included, 60 at Dansoman (Accra), 50 at Cape Coast, 30 each in Kumasi, Sunyani, Tamale, Ho, Koforidua and Bolgatanga and 15 at Ketan (Sekondi). Other areas to benefit were Asutsuare, Madina (Accra), Chirapatre (Kumasi), Winneba, Agona Swedru, Obuasi and Bawku. In all, about 2,300 houses were expected to be completed by the end of the period under review
7. The government of General Acheampong did well to re-generate a sense of patriotism and enthusiasm among university students in particular and students at various levels of education in general. For instance, students from the country's universities and Komenda Teacher Training College showed their support by spending several hours harvesting sugarcane to feed the Komenda Sugar Factory. Similar activities by students were carried out in all parts of the country as their contribution towards the government's efforts at revamping the

economy. The working class was not left out as workers accepted the challenge of being punctual at their work places and discharging their duties with diligence.

8. On the supply of electricity to a wider section of the populace, a number of projects were completed under General Acheampong. Under the first phase of the rural electrification scheme, power stations and supply networks for Berekum, Wenchi, Sefwi Wiaso, Wa, Suhum, Offinso and Ashanti Bekwai were completed. Moreover, the Cape Coast-Asebu-Saltpond overhead line which had been operating at 11 KV was energized at 33 KV. Six 33/10.4 KV on-line substations were commissioned to serve Asebu township, Rose Lime Factory, Biriwa, Anomabo and Wankan Salt Industry. Also completed were a 33/11 KV substation at Saltpond, and the street lighting installations at Sovie Dzigbe, and Nsuta Buem. Several extension works and new equipment were provided to energize electricity supply to the Inchaban Water works (Takoradi), Japan Motors (Accra), Ghana Coldstores, L'air Liquide and Log and Lumbers Ltd., (Kumasi). High Voltage supplies were provided to Tata Brewery, the Bank of Ghana, UTC Motors workshop and the last, but not least, Ghana Commercial Bank (Liberty Avenue).

General Acheampong also commissioned the Togo-Dahomey transmission line which made it possible for the two countries to enjoy electricity supply from the Akosombo hydro-electric dam. Realizing the inadequate number of medical personnel in the country, the NRC established a second medical school – School of Medical Sciences (SMS) at the University of Science and Technology – UST, Kumasi, to train more doctors to help sustain health delivery in the country. An Urban Health Centre was constructed at Mamprobi and renovation works was carried out at the Okomfo Anokye Teaching Hospital and the Mampong District Hospital.

In the field of education, facilities were improved for elementary schools. This led to an increase in enrolment in 1972-73 by more than 38,500 over that of 1971-72. The 1974 Education Act provided that by 1976 eighty additional primary schools would be built and 4,000 more teachers in training were to be recruited. The Continuation School programme started by the Busia government was vigorously pursued and by the end of 1972-73 the number had increased to 328, an increase of more than 140 over the number in 1971/72. Programmes offered were expanded to include salt-making, fitting, blacksmithing, electrical welding and vulcanizing.

On secondary education, the 1972-73 enrollment was 60,774 as against 56,801 in 1971-72. The curriculum was also diversified to include commercial and practical subjects. Emphasis was laid on Shorthand, Typing, Carpentry, Tailoring and Technical Drawing. Some second cycle schools were also provided with new structures. They included a 3-storey dormitory block for the Presbyterian Boys' Secondary School, Legon, and Ghanata Secondary School, Dodowa. Other schools which also benefited from the provision of new infrastructure were St. Louis Secondary School, Archbishop Porter Girls' Secondary School and Pramso Secondary School.

By NRCD 247, the NRC in December 1973 established the Ghana Teaching Service. In 1974, the decree was amended by the proclamation of NRCD 357 and the name was changed to Ghana Education Service.

The government also re-established at the Advanced Teacher Training College, Winneba, with courses in Science and Mathematics for failed degree candidates in Science and holders of the GCE 'A' Level in Science or Mathematics who did not qualify for admission to the universities. Upon completion, the diplomats were to join the staff of secondary schools to strengthen the science departments.

The NRC inaugurated the Technical and Commercial Examinations Committee under the aegis of the West African Examinations Council to work out a programme for the establishment of a technical and commercial examination

system to replace the overseas examinations of the City and Guilds of London, and the Royal Society of Arts with local ones based on syllabuses that will fully reflect the development needs of the country.

As a further move to improve the quality of education, a 14-member National Advisory Committee on Curriculum for Pre-University Education under the Chairmanship of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Akwasi Sarpong, Catholic Bishop of Kumasi, was inaugurated by July 1973. The Committee was to advise the Commissioner and the Ministry of Education on the content of education at all levels of pre-university education that would reflect national needs and aspiration.

In its determined efforts to encourage the production of textbooks locally, an Authorship Development Fund of £50,000 was established. Under the control of the Ministry of Finance, the Fund was to provide financial assistance to Ghanaian and other local authors to write and publish more original works based on local conditions and experiences as teaching material to replace the extraneous materials which the country had had to import with its limited hard currency.

The NRC promulgated the NRCD 208 to establish the National Service Secretariat which put in place the National Service Scheme. It was to assign for a period of one year, a core of trained young Ghanaian graduates from the Universities, the Diploma Colleges and later Sixth Form to any needy area of national development.

A number of roads were also constructed. They included the Nima/Maamobi highway, the Tamale-Morno road, Soronasi-Morno trunk road, and the Bolgatanga-Bawku-Kulungugu trunk road. It was under Acheampong's regime that the country's motor traffic adopted the 'right hand drive' way of driving. Ghana also joined the international community in converting its system of measuring to the metric one.

THE FALL OF ACHEAMPONG

SOCIO – ECONOMIC

1975 proved to be a critical turning point, and by 1977, the economic problems had become overwhelming. The credit extended to the state by banks had skyrocketed from C17 million in 1973 to C781 million in 1977. Production had decreased and there were shortages of essential commodities and the activities of smugglers soared. Though the courts were ready and willing to assist to arrest the situation, only a tip of the iceberg reached them; and in punishing these persons heavily, the courts ridiculed themselves as the worst culprits got away. For example, in 1977, the Circuit Court at Denu presided over by one J.B.K. Yemidi, jailed a 69 year old woman to two years, six months for smuggling 4 gallons of kerosene to the Republic of Togo.

In May 1978, an Accra Circuit Court jailed Gladys Ayetive – 26, four years for selling Palmolive soap at C4.00 instead of 87 pesewas and one packet of Omo at C4.00 instead of 46 pesewas. Korkor Addo – 22, was also jailed four years by the same court for selling two tins of mackerel at C1.40 each instead of 37 pesewas. The punishment would have gladdened the hearts of Ghanaians if the big-time smugglers and corrupt officials were also arrested and brought before court to receive sentences to fit their crimes, but this was not the case because of the links they had with officialdom. According to the official figures released at the end of 1978, the country lost £50 million through the smuggling of local goods to neighbouring countries.

As a way of solving the problem, the government adopted the 'Chit' system. The adoption of the 'Chit' system as a way of rationing the supply of the existing stock of essential commodities even worsened the situation because a few managed to collect large consignments of goods only to sell them at exorbitant prices to the already impoverished masses. Hoarding and profiteering as a means of survival

reached such heights that a term – **kalabule** was coined to denote economic malpractices.

Corruption was everywhere as it seemed to enjoy official blessing. Even General Acheampong, the Head of State, was neck deep in the rape of the economy. With the stroke of his famous green ink (pen), he ordered Principal Secretaries of the Ministries of Trade and Finance in particular to issue import licenses to his favourites – usually young girl friends and mistresses, without reference to the Bank of Ghana for advice. One of such letters read:

"His Excellency the Head of State and Commissioner for Finance recommends that Import License worth C1,152,000 for the importation of one (1) Ford Cortina Estate Car and six (6) Model 3022 T Forestmill portable sawmills be issued to Madam Alice Adae Garbrah of Post Office Box 86, Tepa. Ashanti, for the establishment of a rural industry at Tepa".

Through official connections import licenses worth millions of cedis were issued to people sympathetic to the NRC and girlfriends of members of the government. Many of the state enterprises became the meeting grounds between army officers, corrupt management and private merchants. Out of humour, Ghanaians coined the term "bottom power" to describe the success with which certain young women (their 'business acumen' being the gift of nature -beauty), were able to gain possession of 'Chits'. What outraged Ghanaians was that the beneficiaries were not even the hard working market mammies, but just 'small girls' fresh out of school or university.

The new symbol of economic power became the VW Golf rather than the traditional mammy wagon. Many businessmen resorted to under-invoicing which led to the loss of huge sums of revenue (in the form of customs duty) to the state. Further evidence of official involvement in corruption was that, between October 1977 and August 1978. In June 1978, under the guise of export promotion,

\$667,000 worth of timber products were exported to Saudi Arabia without any Letters of Credit established on them. Again, the Timber Marketing Board failed to inform the Bank of Ghana of an amount of \$467,000 being part payment realised from the export of timber products to Saudi Arabia, but instead, the amount was paid into the accounts of the Board in London.

Members of the ruling council also allocated large sums of money to themselves despite the ailing economy. For example, they received a 'special allowance' of ₵9,000.00 every six months. This meant a member of government of the rank of Colonel received a tax free allowance of ₵18,000.00 per annum besides other bonuses. This amount at the time was about three times the annual net salary of a Colonel in the Ghana Army.

From March to April 1977, the Consumer Price Index jumped from 964.5 to 1,128.7 per cent because of the skyrocketing cost of locally produced food. Workers were unable to afford their staple food made from corn and cassava. Those with enough money bought yellow corn even though they expressed shame at eating what was normally used for animal feed. Perhaps one would appreciate the extent to which things had gone bad by looking at these price levels in 1978. A carton of fish sold by the State Fishing Corporation for ₵80.00 was re-sold on the open market at ₵240.00, meat attracted between ₵12.00 to ₵18.00 per pound though it should have cost ₵4.00. Tinned tomatoes which cost 65 pesewas in 1971 sold at ₵6.00. Other prices were a tin of Milo at ₵20.00 from ₵2.00, a tin of milk from 17 pesewas to ₵3.00. The prices of cotton fabrics and enamel wares also saw phenomenal increases. Under the Kalabule Empire, a seven-piece set of enamel ware which cost ₵90.00 at the official retail price now sold at ₵350.00. A half piece 'Akosombo' wax print which sold at ₵24.00 and the 'Tema' type which cost ₵16.00 had by 1977 risen to ₵200.00 and ₵150.00 respectively. Imported Guaranteed Dutch wax print was unaffordable for most Ghanaians as the

prevailing price of ₵400.00 per half-piece was more than the take-home pay of many senior officials (the minimum wage was ₵4.00 a day).

In response to these hardships of the workers in the public sector, strikes became common. Most of the strikes, as expected, centred on calls for improved working conditions. On the whole, the number of strikes increased from a total of 8 (in 1974) to 11 (in 1976) 10 (in 1977) and 23 (in 1978). The most serious of these were the Ghana Registered Nurses Association (nationwide) 25 days strike (in 1978), and the Ghana Oil Refinery 11 days strike (in 1978).

The educational sector was also seriously affected as teachers in both first and second cycle schools left the country to seek greener pastures, especially in Nigeria. The universities were not spared either as a number of the academic staff also joined the 'adventure' to escape the unbearable economic situation. The consequences of this trend on the country's manpower development could well be imagined. Industries had their turn of the negative developments when the lack of raw materials forced many of them to either close down or produce below capacity, most often at about 25.0 per cent capacity. In an attempt to break even at this ridiculously low production level, most of the industries laid off some staff. The effects on the individual, his family and the society in general were alarming.

General Acheampong refused to accept sound professional advice on economic and fiscal policies and tried to solve the mounting economic problems by printing more money to off-set the rising budget deficit in 1974 and 1977. The excess liquidity caused inflation to rise from 24.7 per cent in 1974 to 116.4 per cent in 1977. By July 1979 the country's ability to service her short-term loan repayment had declined to the extent that it had fallen into arrears, further credit lines were blocked. The effect was the stagnation of the economy and decline in the standard of living of the majority of the people.

POLITICAL

In the face of heightening tension and disaffection among Ghanaians over Acheampong's mismanagement which had brought suffering to a majority of the people, he stepped further on the nerves of Ghanaians by mooted the idea of a "Union Government" – a non-partisan system of Government composed of the military, the police and civilians. Apparently, Acheampong had the mind of perpetuating himself in office by still occupying the seat of Head of State through this political arrangement.

To push through his plans, he formally outdoored on January 10, 1977, an Ad-Hoc Committee on Union Government with Dr. Koranteng-Addow, Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice as its chairman to collect and collate ideas on Union Government to ensure its effective implementation. Mr. Joe Appiah was appointed Commissioner and Special Adviser to the Head of State in addition to his prior designation of "Roving Ambassador" in a bid to boost the campaign for Unigov. He was sent far and near to propagate the concept. "Special Aides" of Acheampong – including S.K. Danso, Sam Boateng, S. O. Lamptey, Ben Kumah and Kwasi Ghapson toured the entire country with official backing and sponsorship, selling Unigov and Acheampong to the people. With matches, shirts, handkerchiefs and other items with Acheampong's picture printed on them and with inscriptions such as "General Acheampong, Ghana's man of Destiny," "Vote Unigov, Vote Acheampong", Commissioners and members of the SMC abandoned their official duties and tirelessly trekked the length and the breadth of the country in official cars and Air Force helicopters to campaign for Unigov. Even traditional rulers did not miss the opportunity to campaign for Unigov.

For instance, Nana Amoakwa Boadu VII, Omanhene of Breman-Asikumah told his people at a durbar to round off the Odwira Festival in November 1976 that, Unigov would enhance the first principle of the National Charter of Redemption – One People, One Nation, One Destiny. The state media was at its sycophantic best. For, an editorial of the Daily Graphic on Friday, 21 October, 1977 – six clear months

before the referendum on Unigov stated among others that, the SMC has the right to decide what it thinks is good for Ghana's future because its existence is legal and moreover, a majority of Ghanaians have rejected party politics.

The SMC defied advice, intimidated and victimised people who opposed the Union Government idea, for example G.W. Amartefio – “Mr. No” was detained for attacking the Unigov concept in a GTV debate. A referendum was held on 30 March 1978 to determine the wishes of the people on this issue. In the course of the release of results, the Electoral Commissioner, Justice I. K. Abban gave up his assignment due to threats on his life for failing to falsify the results. He resurfaced from his hideout on April 3, 1978 and reported himself to the Castle in the company of His Grace John Kodwo Amissah, Archbishop of Cape Coast, Rev. Hilary Senoo of the Catholic Secretariat and Rev. C. Awotwe Pratt of the Methodist Church. He was relieved of his post. A.M. Quaye was appointed as the Acting Electoral Commissioner.

After the officially declared majority of less than 50% (43.0%) of the registered persons who voted in favour of the Union Government idea, (registered voters were 4,614,767 and 23.5% (23.6%) and 19.8% (18.9%) were supposed to have voted ‘YES’ and ‘NO’ respectively), Ghanaians began to sense that the results were falsified and this worsened the already tense political atmosphere.

Referendum Results, presented by the same A. M. Quaye, the Acting Electoral Commissioner confirmed the suspicion on the falsification of the results. The total number of votes cast rose from 1,983,678 (as per the first results) to 2,282, 813 (as per the second results). This clearly indicated that the figures have been adjusted to cover up the fraud. Again, the total number of registered voters as published by Mr. Justice Abban before the Referendum and which was quoted by the Acting Electoral Commissioner in the confirmed results to General I. K. Acheampong on April 3, 1978 was 4,614,767,803 in the Gazette results. Clearly, this was an attempt to adjust upwards, the total percentage of people who voted which stood at

43.0 percent to a respectable figure of 50.8% (51.0%) percent and therefore cover the fact that majority of registered voters (probably as a result of their indignation towards this political development) had boycotted the Unigov Referendum.

In the face of this development, the government appointed a Constitutional Commission, composed of people from different backgrounds, to draw up proposals on what was referred to as a 'National Government', to be composed of civilians (politicians), some members of the Armed Forces and the police. Though, a modification of the original plan of Union Government, people became more incensed, and, despite the intimidation and detention of people through the Preventive Detention Decree, civil disobedience became widespread. Professional bodies like the Ghana Bar Association withdrew their services temporarily – April to July 1978. The Christian Council, the Catholic Secretariat and some traditional rulers openly criticized the dictatorial tendencies of the government. Many of the most eminent public figures teamed up in the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies – ARPB, the Front for the Prevention of Dictatorship – FPD and the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice – PMFJ to oppose the Union Government proposals.

For instance, at its inaugural press conference held on January 27, 1978 the PMFJ rejected the proposal for a Union Government type of political system and, in a ten-point statement read on behalf of the leaders by Lt. Gen. A. A. Afrifa, explained that Union Government would be at variance with human rights. The ARPB also adopted a resolution on 30 March, 1978 calling on Acheampong and the SMC to resign and hand over power to the Chief Justice, Justice F. K. Apaloo, who, acting as the Head of State should, in consultation with the Council of State, appoint an interim government to administer the affairs of the state and set in motion a machinery to return Ghana to civilian rule by 31 December, 1978. Demonstrations by university students became frequent. Really, the country at this time became unsettled. To prevent the escalation of the confusion and to put

national life back to normalcy, the army staged a "palace coup" d'etat on July 5, 1978 and removed Acheampong from office. His place was taken by Lt.-Gen. (later General) Frederick William Kwasi Akuffo, who had been Acheampong's deputy and Commander of the Ghana Armed Forces. According to Akuffo the action was taken "in the interest of the unity and stability of the nation".

GENERAL AKUFFO AND THE SMC II; JULY 5 1978 – JUNE 4, 1979

The exit of Acheampong led to the reconstitution of the Supreme Military Council with General Akuffo as Head of State and Chairman. He was sworn into office on July 6, 1978 by the Chief Justice, Justice F. K. Apaloo. Akuffo accused Acheampong of having divided the country in running a "one man show" government by taking actions without consulting other members of the SMC I, and that his continued presence in office would impede any steps towards reconciliation. As a first step in streamlining the administration of the state, more than half of the members of SMC I including the IGP, J. H. Cobbina, were retired and new officers appointed to replace them. Several other serving officers who served as Commissioners in the regional ministries and institutions were recalled to barracks and their places taken over by civilians.

For instance Mrs. Gloria Amon Nikoi, Senior Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, took over from Col. R.J.A. Felli as Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. Mr. K. Afreh also took over from Colonel Parker Yarney. As Commissioner for Information; Anthony K. Woode replaced Commander G.E. Osei. As Commissioner for Greater Accra, Dr. K. G. Erbynn took over from Colonel W. A. Thompson. Evans-Anfom was made Commissioner for Central Region was made Commissioner for education and Culture.

Also affected in this exercise were Commander J. C. Addo, Chief Executive of the Cocoa Marketing Board and Major S. B. Gyasi, Executive Director of the Produce Buying Company. Commander Addo's position was taken over by Kwame Asare

Pianim whilst W. R. Koranteng, Managing Director of the Cocoa Marketing Company was made the First Deputy Chief Executive.

On May 1, 1979, the government came out with a form of "punishment" for General Acheampong. By a decree – Armed Forces Miscellaneous Provisions Decree, 1979 – the SMC II divested General Acheampong of all honours acquired by him during his tenure of office. He was to forfeit the use of any military rank and was prohibited from entering any military installation or establishment. He was to restrict his movements to his home town, Trabuom, in the Ashanti Region.

The SMC II took measures to dismantle the satellite organisations that formed the base of Acheampong's political support. Therefore, "the Patriots", "Organisers Council", "The Friends", and "Ghana Youngsters Club" were banned and their assets frozen. The assets and bank accounts of former "Special Aides" to Acheampong: S. O. Lamptey, Kwesi Ghapson, Sam Boateng, S. K. Danso and Ben Kuma were also frozen.

Even though on July 31, 1978, the SMC II proposed to return Ghana to civilian rule with a "Transitional (Interim) National Government", having no institutional representation of the Armed Forces and the Police, it would have the mandate to rule for a period of not less than four years. However, intense pressure forced the SMC II to change this idea on November 30, 1978. The University Teachers' Association of Ghana – UTAG, for instance, called on the government to produce a permanent constitution "reflecting, the mood of the nation for freedom of association and expression", the National Union of Ghana Students – NUGS also added its voice to this call and reiterated the need for general elections by Universal Adult Suffrage to return the country to civilian rule by July 1, 1979.

In late October, announcements were made that local council elections would be held for the first time in twenty years and on December 13, 1978, the Political Parties Decree was passed. It banned all old political parties like the CPP, UP,

NAL, and PP. On December 21, 1978, General Akuffo inaugurated the Constituent Assembly, with Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe as the Chairman. To facilitate its work, the Committee set up five sub-committees. They were the Drafting and Standing Orders Committee headed by Justice Crabbe, Business Committee under the leadership of Nene Azu Mate Kole, the House Committee led by D. A. Chapman-Nyaho and Committee of Privileges headed by Mrs. Justice Annie Jiagge. On January 1, 1979, the seven-year ban on political party activities was lifted. To show its commitment to a level playing field and free and fair elections, General Akuffo had in a radio and T.V. broadcast on the eve of 1979 declared: "The Government of the Supreme Military Council will not in any way be involved in the organisation of any political party nor shall we interfere in any way with the political campaign that will ensue. However, under the reports of the Elections and Public Officers Disqualification (Disqualified Persons) Decree of 1978, (based on the Taylor and Aidoo Assets Committees, the Commission of Enquiry into Builders Brigade, the Jiagge, Manyo Plange and Sowah Assets Commissions and the Kwame Nkrumah Properties Commission), 195 people against whom adverse findings were made, were disqualified from engaging in party politics. Symbols of former political parties were also banned. Tribunals were later set up to reconsider the adverse findings made against those banned under the above mentioned Decree and review the earlier decision where necessary. Thus the previous ruling against someone like Victor Owusu was reversed.

Economic achievements

General Akuffo employed orthodox devices to implement his economic policies. To curtail inflation, he **reduced the monetary supply by holding back increases in government expenditures** to 11 per cent in 1978-1979 (in contrast to 59 per cent the previous fiscal year), which in turn necessitated a clampdown on government borrowing from the Central Bank. In August, 1978, Akuffo devalued the cedi by 58.2 per cent against the US\$, (i.e from 1.15 to 2.75). Earlier in June, 1978, the SMC II suspended the SUL and cancelled tax concessions on imports.

And to streamline the distribution of essential commodities, special import licenses worth C6.76 million were granted to 21 selected firms, including GNTC, Kingsway, SCOA and PZ to import commodities to forestall shortages. Moreover, in January 1979, the government banned 7,000 briefcase-bearing businessmen whose companies fell below categories A5, B4 and B5 to streamline the import trade. From this time onwards, the Ministry of Trade took over as the only import license issuing agency.

To re-establish Ghana's international economic credibility, which had been damaged by Acheampong's debt repudiation, Akuffo appointed on July 19, 1978, a 10-member **National Economic Advisory Committee** chaired by the Commissioner of Economic Planning, Dr. J. L. S. Abbey to advise his government on measures to rehabilitate, resuscitate and stabilise the economy with a view to putting it on a sustainable growth path. Interest rates were increased to encourage savings and commercial lending rates were raised. By these austerity measures inflation dropped to 78.8 percent by May 1979 from the over 100 per cent during Acheampong's time. In support of the government's efforts at improving the economy, the IMF granted a loan of \$97 million to be drawn on Special Drawing Rights of \$53 million beginning January 1979. The US government gave a loan amounting to \$23 million to assist the country's agriculture, health and education programmes.

The Council also **improved tax collection** by re-assessing the taxable income of all companies, many of who had under-declared their income. Consequently, two naturalised Ghanaian businessmen, M.F. Fattal and his brother Mahmoud who were found to owe 4 million Cedis in tax arrears had their assets frozen and their citizenship revoked. Their group of companies was ordered to pay a penalty of over 6 million Cedis for false declaration and evading import duty. Jamil Ashkar, a Lebanese, was not only ordered to pay 1.1 million Cedis in tax arrears but was deported after he was found guilty of tax evasion.

The Council eliminated market women from the textile distribution trade and abolished in July, 1979, the "chit" system. To increase production in the agricultural sector, the SMC II allocated 15.8 million for crop development and 16.4 million for livestock development in the 1978/79 fiscal year. The morale of cocoa farmers was boosted when the producer price, of cocoa was in September 1978, increased from C40 to C80 per 30 kilogramme bag.

The government also embarked upon demonetisation aimed at getting rid of large hordes of illegal, cedi holdings both in and outside the country and to further strengthen the currency by reducing the excess liquidity in the system. On March 5-9, 1979, by the Cedi (New Notes) Decree 1979 (SMCD) 226, people were made to send to the banks C100 in return for C70.00. However, all amounts in excess of 5,000 was to be exchanged at a ratio of 5:10, that is for every 100 after one has changed up to the tune of 5,000 he or she was to receive 50 of the new notes. Though by April 9, 1979 there was a reduction by 30% in excess liquidity, the policy did not work because inflation began to rise again. Earlier in October 1978, the effects of these measures especially the August devaluation had become pronounced as the prices of consumer goods doubled and even quadrupled in some cases.

The hardships were felt by every segment of Ghanaian society; with the urban dweller being the hardest hit. Discontent became widespread among the people. It was therefore not surprising that between August and November 1978 the country recorded eight strikes involving over 70,000 workers. The most serious of the strikes were those by the workers of the postal services, the Electricity Corporation and GIHOC. The main aim of the strikers was to secure a pay rise to meet the cost of living which rose sharply after the August 1978 devaluation of the cedi against the US dollar.

Unable to manage the situation, the government declared a state of emergency and passed the Emergency Decree of 1978 which outlawed strikes and other forms of

protest and declared damage to property as a criminal act and against the security of the state. The government began to play down the effect of this situation by beginning to recruit new employees to fill the jobs held by the striking civil servants. The Decree also granted the government the right to detain people without trial restrict the movement of citizens and control property.

With a constitutional provision which indemnified the NRC/SMC I and SMC II and other previous military regimes and the government's refusal to prosecute Acheampong and others who, by every indication, were engaged in corruption and other socio-economic crimes against the state, it dawned on Ghanaians that General Akuffo and the other members of SMC II had themselves been corrupt under the previous regime. Tension, therefore, never abated as the people became convinced that they (members of NRC/SMC I & II) wanted to go unpunished after looting the national coffers. It, therefore, came as no surprise when on May 15, 1979; Junior Officers of the Air Force led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings attempted a coup d'etat against the SMC II. Though the coup was foiled, the plotters, as expressed by Mr. Aikins, Director of Public Prosecutions, were worried not only about the injustices in the Ghanaian society but also the tarnished image of the Ghana Army due to malfeasance on the part of members of the government.

On the morning of June 4, 1979, when the court-martial trying Rawlings and his accomplices was to resume sitting, another group of Junior Officers and regular soldiers led by Major Boakye Gyan released Rawlings and his men from prison. The troops gained control of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, but were temporarily dislodged by troops loyal to the SMC II under the command of Major General Odartey-Wellington, and then succeeded in recapturing it at 11 a.m. Skirmishes took place throughout the day, leading to Odartey Wellington's death at the Nima police station, where he had taken refuge after running short of ammunition. It led to the arrest of many SMC II affiliates, and eventually to its

overthrow. To avoid further bloodshed, Major-General Joshua Hamidu, CDS came on air at about 8.30 p.m. to confirm the success of the coup d' etat. He urged all those still fighting in support of the SMC II to stop firing and return to barracks.

UNIT 6

GHANA UNDER HILLA LIMANN: SEPTEMBER, 1979 – DECEMBER 1981 AND THE SECOND COMING OF J. J. RAWLINGS

Hilla Limann assumed the reins of government on September 24, 1979 with a three – fold challenge: first, he had to reconstruct a state apparatus that had been deformed and assaulted during the preceding period of military. Secondly, he had to attempt rehabilitating an economy shattered by real mismanagement and abuse. Thirdly, he has to revive the confidence government dissipated by years of exclusion, exploitation and impoverishment. It could be argued that, the conditions under which the new civilian experience started were quite dismal.

ACHIEVEMENTS

As President, Dr. Limann stated that “agriculture will be our first priority now, and the foreseeable future. It is unacceptable that the country which abounds in arable land should import food or else go hungry”. A two year agricultural programme was thus launched. Farmers were given **incentives in the form of fair producer prices and where necessary, machinery and expertise**. Food became available on the market, putting back the smiles on the faces of many Ghanaians as queues for food disappeared within a year of taking power. The government also undertook to encourage the development of local cottage industries, hoping that they would eventually counteract the trend towards capital-intensive import-substitution plants. And to show its continued commitment towards the sector, the 1981/82 budget made available a total of ₵283.6 million. Out of this amount, the Ministry of Agriculture and its departments were allocated ₵217.2 million. The Irrigation Development Authority received ₵43.12 million to cover land development in areas surrounding existing irrigation schemes like *Vea and Tono*. The Cotton and Bast Fibre Development Boards were given ₵7 million and ₵55 million for the importation of fertilizers. On crop development, an amount of ₵88.6 million was earmarked whilst the cocoa sector had ₵33.9 million.

Next, the administration tackled the problem of shortages of essential commodities which was partly the result of the AFRC's sale of all available stocks. Resources were thus mobilised and within two to three months not only did the country experience improvement in stocks, but several ships were docked, waiting at the Tema Harbour to discharge their cargo, which was mostly made up of essential commodities. Over twenty articulated trucks also brought goods from Nigeria to add to stocks. By the end of the first year in office, the shelves were almost filled to capacity. Focus was placed on revamping the mining sector. A major campaign of reviving the gold industry was therefore initiated and financial backing sought from foreign investors. In this connection, a three-day international seminar and exhibition on Ghana's Gold Endowment was opened at the Kwame Nkrumah Conference Centre, Accra, on January 6, 1981. The seminar, which attracted investors from countries including the US, Britain and Canada no doubt opened up the mining sector for investment. Moreover, the government introduced a new Investment Code and enacted the Trade Liberalisation Act to help attract greater doses of foreign capital.

The government of **Dr. Hilla Liman** adopted a new industrial policy. Factories received government backing to import spare parts to rehabilitate broken down machinery so as to fully utilise their installed capacities. A call was made for more reliance on local inputs in industrial production. Local cottage industries were particularly encouraged.

Again, to improve relations with the international community and to undo the blockage against the country due to the AFRC's excesses, more especially its human right abuses, Limann travelled throughout Western Europe, Africa and parts of the Far East not only to renew ties, but also to search for funds to improve the country's economy. This yielded positive results as Nigeria, for instance, did resume oil deliveries to Ghana and presented the country with a \$500,000 grant. Other countries also made pledges to help revive the economy.

The government also relieved the country of her acute transportation problems by the importation of Tata buses from India. These buses started inter-city operations to the relieve of the travelling public. The rural areas which produce the bulk of the country's food requirements were not left out as some of the new buses were put on their roads. Road rehabilitation projects were also started.

Limann also upheld freedom of speech and of the press. Fundamental human rights were on the whole, respected as people expressed their opinions openly without the fear of harassment at the hands of security agents or of being imprisoned under very suspicious circumstances.

FAILURES/PROBLEMS FACED BY THE LIMANN

A major problem was how the PNP could continue the "house cleaning" exercise started by the AFRC to uproot bribery and corruption from the Ghanaian society. As the government found itself in a different political setting (constitutional administration), it became difficult for the PNP to carry out the instant justice (e.g. flogging, confiscation of goods or assets etc.), which the past military regime carried out with no checks. Therefore, as corruption and other malpractices started rolling back into the system, people started criticizing the administration and accused it of not being up to the enormous task ahead of the country.

The country was also beset with difficulties in the cocoa industry. With the world price fixed at £1,200 a ton (by June 1980) the government had no alternative than to pay lower prices to farmers who were not the least happy about this development. Worse was to follow when smuggling of cocoa across the country's borders to neighbouring countries for higher prices became the order of the day. Export earnings from cocoa, the mainstay of the economy therefore dwindled. And with total debt on the increase, reaching over \$1.4 billion in 1981 whilst \$400 million stood in arrears on short-term debt repayments, the economy started showing negative signs. In 1981, inflation averaged 116.5 per cent with an

estimated BOP deficit of \$1.5 million, or 30 percent of Gross National Product (GNP). Halfway through the 1981 fiscal year, the government had overspent the budget. The economic situation at this time showed no signs of improvement and labour unrest became rampant throughout the country with the biggest being a TUC backed work stoppage by mid-1981.

Moreover, **Limann was surrounded by CPP old-guards** such as Nana Okutwer Bekoe, Kojo Botsio, Kofi Batsa and Dr. Ayeh-Kumi who were eager to have a stake in the administration of the country as a reward for their investment in Limann's election. Therefore, not only was Limann handicapped by not having the freedom to operate as an Executive President, but worse still, there was power struggle in the party, especially, on the death of Imoru Egala, the party Chairman. Therefore, instead of paying attention to the country's problems, the PNP was wasting precious time on leadership struggle. In fact, when the issue of the PNP's leadership crisis was brought to the courts in December 1981; the ruling coalition was no longer capable of inspiring confidence even amongst its most avid supporters.

Furthermore, not only were the actions of the AFRC challenged in courts, but **aggrieved AFRC convicts and those with properties confiscated to the state started to petition the PNP administration for a review of their cases.** This put the government in a serious dilemma as it was widely believed that there had been miscarriage of justice during the AFRC rule and therefore there was the urgent need for a second look at some of its actions. The administration was also haunted by the continued popularity of Rawlings, who did not help matters by assuming the role of an unofficial watchdog of the regime and making statements with political undertones to the press.

In the latter part of 1980 and 1981, the administration began to employ **fairly heavy-handed tactics** in its renewed efforts to deal with groups which were not inclined towards it. The first target of government reprisals was the outspoken

press. Despite the detailed Constitutional provisions for press freedom, and the creation of the Press Commission, the government was unable to tolerate constant criticism in the print media. Clumsy efforts to replace editors not amenable to government overtures (most notably Elizabeth Ohene of the Daily Graphic) did little to improve the PNP's image in the public eye. Another action which dented the image of the government was the retirement from the army of Brigadiers J. Arnold Quainoo, (AC) and Nunoo Mensah (CDS) – all key AFRC appointees, and other officers who were known admirers of Rawlings. The IGP, CO. Lamptey, suffered the same fate.

The administration was also faced with corruption in high places. The PNP government was accused of taking a bribe of \$2.4 million in a currency printing contract. Also, two top members of the party, Nana Okutwer Bekoe and Krobo Edusei were said to have taken a bribe of \$1 million from an Italian businessman, Chiavelli, for investment favours.

There was also the issue of brain drain. The situation, which was the result of poor economic performance made the country lose a number of its manpower resources. With reports of perceived corruption in high places, the continued suffering of the average Ghanaian worker as the cost of a poor persons breakfast was double the minimum wage and Limann's inability to exercise a firm control over the affairs of the country and his party (due to lack of personal power base of his own within the PNP) coupled with further deterioration in the economy, the PNP government was toppled in a coup d'etat led by Flt. J.J. Rawlings on December 31, 1981. Thus Ghana's third attempt at constitutional government came to an abrupt end. The Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) was formed with Flt. J. J. Rawlings as Head of State and Chairman.

THE OVERTHROW OF PNP AND RAWLINGS' SECOND ADVENT IN POLITICS

At about 11 am on the coup day the voice of Rawlings came on air calling for nothing less than a revolution – something that will transform the social and economic order of this country. On the night of Saturday, January 2, 1982, he made a second broadcast on radio and TV in which he accused the Limann administration of deliberately reneging on the pledge to continue the 'house-cleaning' exercise. Rawlings described the immediate past administration as the most disgraceful government in the history of this country. He continued: 'It is only in recent times that criminals and the likes have become respectable in our society. . . They have turned our hospitals into graveyards and our clinics into death transit camps where men, women and children die daily because of lack of drugs and basic equipment.' He went on to announce the suspension of the 1979 Third Republican Constitution, the dismissal of all members of the government, the dissolution of Parliament and the banning of political parties. Rawlings proclaimed the establishment of the Provisional National Defence Council – PNDC, the members of whom would be announced later, as the supreme political authority in Ghana. By the PNDC establishment proclamation – January 11, 1982, provision was made for an eleven member council. However, only seven were named initially. They were; Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings as Chairman, Brigadier Joseph Nunoo-Mensah, the Rev. Dr. Vincent Kwabena Damuah, Warrant Officer Class 1 Joseph Adjei Boadi, Sergeant Daniel Alolga Akata-Pore, Joachim Amartey Quaye and Chris Bukari Atim. By the close of 1982, only Rawlings and Adjei Boadi remained. Mrs. Aanaa Enin, Nandom Na, Naa Polkuu Konkoo Chiiri were added to the Council by mid-1984. After the death of Naa Polkuu Konkoo Chiiri on August 25, 1984 (at the age of 51) his place was taken by the appointment of Alhaji Mahama Iddrisu.

In July 1984 additional members were appointed in the persons of Mrs. Susan Alhassan and Justice D. K. Annan. The Council was again expanded in July 1985

when two new members were appointed – Captain (Rtd) Kojo Tsikata, who had previously been the Special Adviser to the PNDC, was now PNDC member responsible for Foreign Affairs and National Security, and P.V. Obeng – PNDC Coordinating Secretary and Chairman of the Committee of PNDC Secretaries.

Getting to the end of 1985 two further members were added. Major-General Arnold Quainoo, (the Force Commander) and Brigadier Mensah-Wood (Commander of the Military Academy and Training School).

On 31st December 1981 the regime of People's National Party, led by Dr. Limann was overthrown by military. Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, making him Ghana's twice- strong man, led this military intervention, the sixth since the attainment of political freedom. The coming into power of Rawlings, who asked for nothing, 'less than a revolution, was prompted by the following factors:

Lack of Definite Leadership: From the onset, it was found that the PNP Government lacked a definite sense of direction, due to the exercise of undue control over President Limman by the powers-that-be such as Imoro Igala, Okutwer Bekoe and Kofi Batsa. These old guards of CPP from which the PNP originated manipulated the government to satisfy their whims and caprices, and made Limann helpless and almost insignificant. There was in-fighting among the leaders of the ruling party, and which created confusion and dissatisfaction in the populace.

Inability to Solve the Problem of High Prices of Goods: In addition, the overthrow of the PNP was brought about by the inability of the government to devise solution to the escalation of prices of consumer goods in the country. The prices of goods rose high up to the sky at a time when wages were relatively low. People queued under the sun for scarce commodities while the government looked on helplessly. What further made the government less popular was when it announced to the public that it had imported one million Naira worth of goods

from Nigeria, when in a point of fact the goods had been given freely to the country by that sister-nation.

Lip-service to the Cocoa Sector: In addition, the overthrow of Limann's government was due to its inability to give the cocoa sector the deserved attention, despite being the mainstay of the country's economy. While several tons of cocoa were locked up in the hinterland, the government and its functionaries were tea-partying. Unscrupulous cocoa farmers had the opportunity to smuggle our cocoa to the neighboring countries to the detriment of the economy.

Corrupt Social Institutions: Furthermore, the overthrow of the PNP was to some extent caused by the corrupt activities of the vigilant groups set up by the PNP to check economic saboteurs. Most of these groups were alleged to have condoned and connived with unscrupulous traders to take the country's economy for a ride. What was more, 'the top echelon of the PNP government misconducts them without being reprimanded.

Social Injustice: Additionally, the government was toppled because of its inability to redress social injustice in the country. Many people were reduced to the status of paupers by harsh economic conditions of poor wages, high rate of unemployment, degrading social facilities, to mention a few. Only those with political influence found a breathing space under these adverse conditions. The government lost its popularity in the eyes of the suffering masses.

Inability to promote economic growth: The government of Hilla Limann was unable to promote economic development and the attendant job opportunities. Its attempt to ensure a successful take-off of the economy through a new Investment Code yielded nothing positive. Businesses were operating at low capacity for lack of hard currency to import raw materials. Job opportunities continued to dwindle because of declining industrial sector. Many people became dissatisfied with the government, and this gave the opportunity to the military to intervene in politics.

Attack on Rawlings' Personality: Moreover, the overthrow of the PNP Government was, to some extent, prompted by the blatant attack the government

made on Rawlings' personality and the gains of the June Fourth Revolution. Limann's government downplayed the importance of the June Fourth Revolution, and this provoked Rawlings to take to the guns once again.

Rawlings Retirement from The Armed Forces: Moreover, the intervention of Rawlings was also due to his retirement from the military by the government, contrary to his wish. This further deepened the sour relationship between Rawlings and Limman. In addition, the PNP government set the Military Intelligence after Rawlings and Captain Kojo Tsikata in an unprofessional manner, and which provoked the latter to take up arms against the former.

Foreign Instigation: Finally, Rawlings' intervention in politics was also due to the instigations of some foreign powers, especially Muammar Gaddafi of Libya. This Arab leader had been infuriated by the hostile policy of Limann leading to the breakup of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and he therefore provided Rawlings with the military and financial support needed to unseat Limann by unconstitutional means.



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